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Wednesday May 20 1996  
Page 15  
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The Guardian

Thursday May 30 1996

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Albania L 2.00	Hungary H 1.00	Pakistan P 7.00
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# The Guardian

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

INTERNATIONAL  
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR  
46,566

Who are upstairs and downstairs today?

## Maid in Britain

G2 with European weather



The Coen Brothers' return to form

## Madness in Minnesota

Screen G2 pages 8/9



OnLine

## The microbe that made history

G2 pages 10/13

# Europe raises the stakes

Major accused of hostage-taking as new demands infuriate sceptics

Stephen Bates in Brussels and Patrick Wintour

**T**HE confrontation between John Major and the European Commission escalated last night when plans to cut the British fishing fleet by 40 per cent were announced, while the commission president, Jacques Santer, denounced the UK's policy of non-co-operation as "deplorable hostage-taking".

In a diplomatically ill-timed move, the commission also demanded that the Ministry of Agriculture hand over to Brussels, by today, details of companies said to be marketing dangerous baby milk. Ministers have refused to divulge details of their research on grounds of commercial confidentiality.

The plans to cut the British

fleet by 40 per cent over the next six years, part of a Europe-wide move to preserve fish stocks, provoked the most furious Tory reaction and may endanger the Government's majority next Wednesday, when the Commons is due to vote on fishing vessel decommissioning.

The EU fishing commissioner, Emma Bonino, denied her announcement was designed to provoke the British, saying urgent steps were necessary if negotiations were to be completed by the end of the year to preserve stocks. She said her proposal would be examined by the Fisheries Council on June 10, and denied she was singling out the British.

However John Redwood, the leading Eurosceptic, described her announcement as "a hammer blow to an already weakened British fishing industry", adding that if



Europe's demands

Britain does not get justice in negotiations, it must unilaterally "reimpose our own 200-mile fishing limit". John Ashworth, spokesman for Save Britain's Fish, claimed the British cut was nothing to do with saving stocks, but to make room for new European Union members.

The fishing row came as Mr

**Fish**  
Britain must cut its trawler fleet by a further 40 per cent by 2002 as part of the drive to conserve fish stocks.

A Commission spokesman said: "We don't want to divide countries into good people and bad people, but some members have made major efforts at restructuring and others have been more slack. Britain is amongst those countries which have consistently failed to meet the targets."

**Beef**  
Britain must implement anti-BSE measures which will restore public confidence in beef and poultry.



Santer, once seen as John Major's ally, offered his fiercest rebuke over Britain's refusal to pass directives in protest at the EU ban on beef exports. He said: "The Commission deplores the effect that, in council, dossiers which are not at all linked to BSE have been taken hostage. This attitude is not appropriate in a community based on the rule of law."

**Milk**  
Britain must immediately give Brussels full figures on phosphate levels in Government tests on baby milk as other EU countries can decide on the risk.

Mr Santer's statement, couched in deliberately harsh language and agreed unanimously by all 20 Commissioners including Britain's representatives Sir Leon Brittan and Neil Kinnock, appeared to open the possibility of legal action if the Government con-



The Commission splinters the fact that Council dossiers have been taken hostage. This attitude is not appropriate in a community based on the rule of law... and will certainly be counter-productive.

times to block EU decisions. The words — said to have been intensified in the translation from French — warned that the action jeopardised the functioning of European institutions and threatened to block progress on integration. It came a day after British ministers had attended their first European Council meet-



ings in Brussels and blocked a number of minor decisions. Although commission officials denied Mr Santer was threatening legal action against the Government, the virulent language was seen as an unprecedented criticism of a member state.

It was being said that the intervention — a week before

the commission is likely to be helping Britain by getting the ban on beef derivatives lifted — was designed to demonstrate its concern over the crisis but not to raise tensions. However, it came together with an announcement of an additional £100 million aid package for beef farmers across Europe, which placed Britain third in line for compensation behind France and Germany, neither of which have had serious BSE problems.

The reasoning given was that the calculations were based on the size of each nation's herds rather than the extent of the collapse of the industry, but it immediately provoked anger at Westminster.

Commission officials justified their call for immediate details of the powdered milk tests on the need for rapid information about health risks to be passed to other member states.

It was being said that the intervention — a week before

**"I was about to ask him what he wanted. I saw the gun and he started shooting"**

Erlend Clouston hears two harrowing accounts of events in Dunblane primary school as massacre inquiry opens

**T**HERE was a period of time when everything seemed to be very quiet. It seemed to last a long time. Although nobody at the inquiry except Eileen Harrild, the part-time PE teacher, had heard the shots in the gym at Dunblane Primary, they reverberated then in their heads.

Mary Blake, the supervisory assistant whose statement transferred the opening day of Lord Cullen's investigation into the Dunblane massacre, had had a similar, hallucinatory experience, during the nightmare of March 13.

Describing the moment when "the dark figure" was framed in the doorway of the gym, initially pumping a total of 106 bullets into primary one, she said: "The screaming seemed to be inside my head. She made the point twice in a statement that was read out on her behalf.

"The first day of the inquiry into Britain's worst murder case had its sinister highlights: the reported discovery of 63 pairs of boys' swimming trunks in Thomas Hamilton's home; the revelation that he had cut the telephone line to the school before heading in with four guns and a total of 763 bullets, for example.

But the testimony of the two staff members brought the inquiry to the heart of the tragedy. One minute Mrs Harrild was laying out ropes and beams for the children; the next she was stumbling into the gym store, bullets in her chest and arms. One moment Mrs Blake was looking after her pupils; the next she was lying in a pool of her blood, trying to hide terrified youngsters under a gym mat.

Mrs Harrild, aged 43, testified first. She told the inquiry she had dropped her own two children at the school then walked to the gym to arrange the equipment for Gwen Mayor's class. They had arrived shortly after 9.30am.

Mrs Mayor had said that she hoped to be relieved "in a couple of minutes" by the assistant head teacher. Instead, the shape that came through the door was altogether different.

"He had a woolly hat on and a gun in his left hand, extended," said Mrs Harrild. "He immediately began to shoot at us. I was within a few feet of him. I was about to ask him what he wanted. I looked and saw the gun and he started shooting at us."

Unflinching, Mrs Harrild described how she stumbled, bleeding, towards the storage alcove set into the side wall



Eileen Harrild, the PE teacher who helped to shelter four children in the gym after she was shot by Thomas Hamilton

of the gym. She did not see what Hamilton was doing behind her. "The shooting did not stop. It was continuous and very rapid."

After Mrs Harrild had struggled into the alcove, she told the inquiry, she was joined by four wounded children and Mary Blake.

In her statement, the supervisory assistant described how, after hearing a noise behind her, she turned round and saw "a dark figure" framed in the doorway. "He

started firing. I think Mrs Mayor was on the floor. The children were screaming. I am not sure if he had a gun in both hands. I was hit and I realised something terrible was happening. He was pointing the gun all around and shooting. The screaming seemed to be inside my head."

Both women told how Hamilton's fusillade continued, faltered briefly then picked up again at a slower rate as he proceeded up the hall.

The women concentrated

on stopping the children from trying to Hamilton the fact that he had six more targets just around the corner.

Miraculously, the injured pupils' intuition signalled the gravity of their situation. "The children were amazingly calm," Mrs Harrild reported. Then, equally miraculously, Hamilton transferred his empty Browning pistol to his left hand, pulled out his Smith and Wesson, put the muzzle in his mouth and fired. The bullet, a ballistics

expert revealed, went through his head, hit the ceiling and fell to the floor.

Mrs Harrild spoke for 32 minutes; Mrs Blake's statement lasted 10. Mrs Harrild said she had received letters from Hamilton but did not know or recognise him. Mrs Blake had no idea who he was. She may be haunted by the words a little boy kept muttering in their hiding place: "What a bad man."

Inquiry report, page 4

## Peres edges to slim victory

Derek Brown in Jerusalem and Jessica Berry in Tel Aviv

**I**SRAEL'S general election reached a sensational climax last night as an exit poll on Israeli television suggested that prime minister Shimon Peres would defeat his rightwing challenger, Benjamin Netanyahu, by the slenderest of margins.

The poll predicted that Mr Peres would win 50.7 per cent of the vote for prime minister, and that Mr Netanyahu would take 49.3 per cent.

The exit poll, though regarded as the most reliable early indicator available, is not an infallible guide to the final vote. Mr Peres may yet be overtaken.

If the poll is confirmed, one potentially ominous conclu-

sion can be drawn: that the Peres victory was achieved only through Israeli Arab support. The first figures suggest Mr Netanyahu won the Jewish vote by a clear margin of 5 per cent. That Mr Peres should take power in these circumstances will enrage the far right and the religious factions, which have polled heavily in the race for the Knesset (parliament).

The election, widely viewed as the most crucial in the country's 48-year history, has divided Israel as never before. At stake is the future of the Middle East peace process, and Israel's fragile relationship with the Palestinians.

"I think it is a historic decision," said Mr Peres as his turn to page 2, column 3

**XERYUS ROUGE**  
POUR HOMME

**GIVENCHY**

**Inside**  
Britain  
2

**World News**  
6

**Finance**  
12

**Sport**  
16

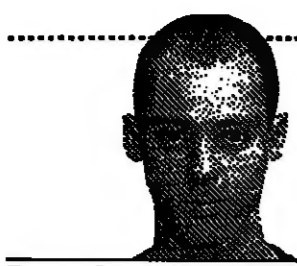
Comment and Letters 8  
Obituaries 10  
G2  
Crossword 15; Weather 16  
Radio and TV 16

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Poetry sketch

Olympian attempt at flights of fancy



Dan Glaister

MICHAEL Horowitz plucked a rose out of a jar and sang the words of a poem...

"Let it wing and sing on high the new muse news of our new world symphony. A Hip Mass..."

First night

Blues played in the right hue

Ed Vulliamy

Buddy Guy (with Eric Clapton) Shepherd's Bush Empire, London

ERIC CLAPTON once introduced Buddy Guy as "the best guitarist in the world"...

Lee Hooker. "But we'll have to leave out one of them," said Buddy, "because he's here!"

HIV doctors denounce cut

Sarah Boseley

THE Aids epidemic, which Britain has been more successful in containing than most countries...

1.7 per cent, or £10 million, while it is expected that the number of patients needing treatment will increase by about 6 per cent...

Cross-Channel war hots up for summer as cost of a day trip to France on Le Shuttle falls to £49 a car

Eurotunnel slashes fares

EUROTUNNEL yesterday launched its most ruthless campaign in the cross-channel price war...

Shuttle tariff, which has seen its standard economy return plummet from £266 to £128...

needs to improve its returns because of a debt of more than £8 billion which it is trying to renegotiate...

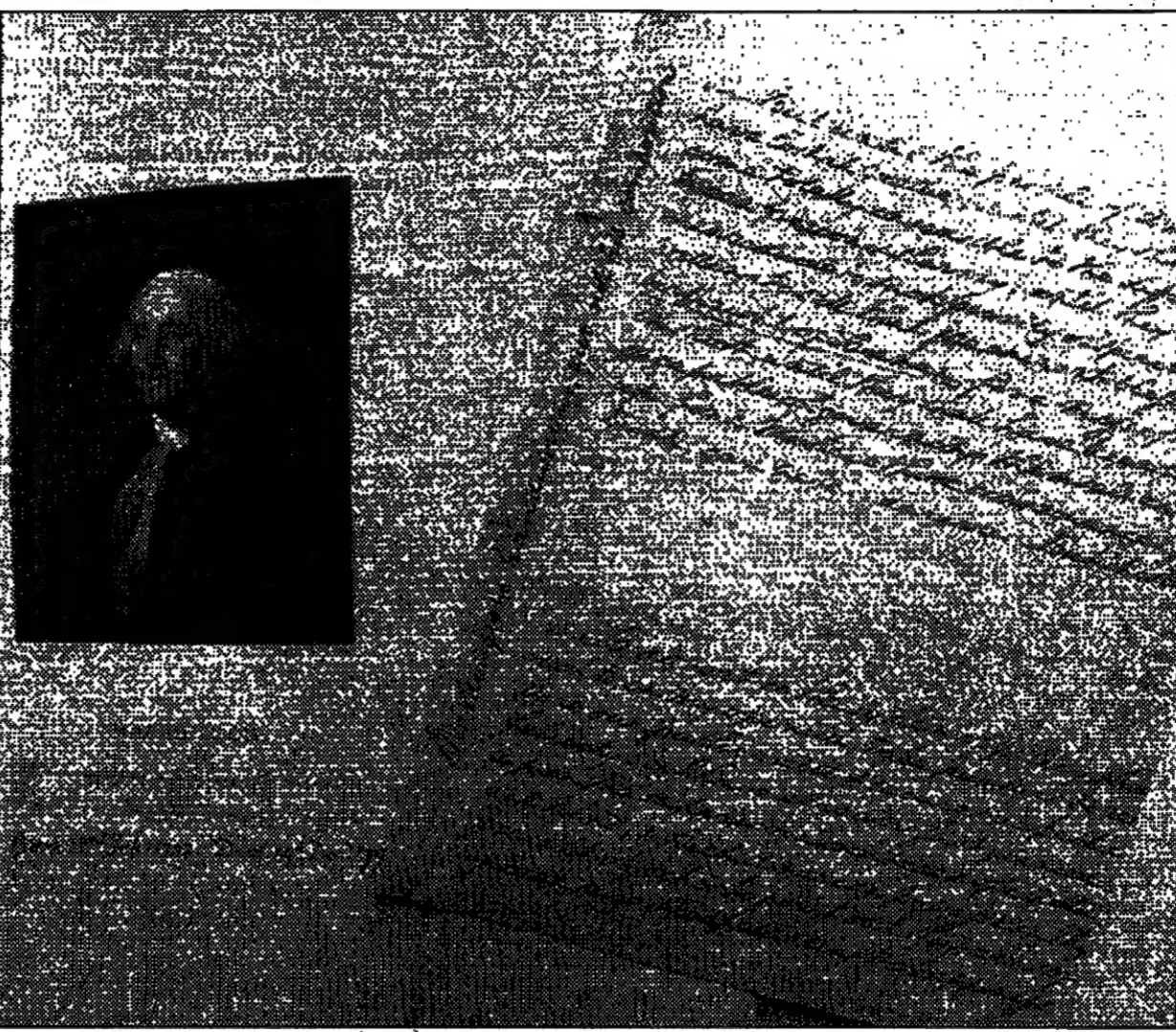
change from the current three time bands to two - 6am to 10pm, and 10pm to 6am...

Table titled 'Across the water' comparing ferry services: Le Shuttle, Stena Sealink, P&O, Hoverspeed.

Suffolk sofa yields secrets of US history

Sarah Boseley

A SHEET of paper, found in an album tucked under a Suffolk sofa, has been identified as the missing heart of George Washington's first draft of his inaugural speech...



The page of George Washington's visionary speech, found by accident during an auction valuation

value as autographs, said Felix Fryor, Phillips' book consultant, who authenticated the Washington leaf...

ist known today for his support of Charles Darwin, visited the United States to lecture in 1841 and it is thought he - or more likely his autograph-collector wife Mary - was honoured by Sparks with an entire leaf of Washington's speech...

causa, says Mr Fryor, the find is like the discovery of the Holy Grail.

In it, Washington rejects an imposed government. "But until the people of America shall have lost all virtue - until they shall have become totally insensible to the difference between freedom and slavery; until they shall have been reduced to such poverty of spirit as to be willing to sell that pre-eminent blessing, the birthright of Freeman, for a mess of pottage; in short, until they shall have been found incapable of governing themselves and ripe for a Master - those consequences, I think, can never arrive..."

Drug scam hits US Navy

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

THE scandal-plagued United States Navy suffered further embarrassment yesterday as 21 sailors were arrested for running a drug-smuggling operation...

and several thousand dollars after raids by agents of the Naval Criminal Investigative Service.

Jeremy "Mike" Boorda, the navy's highest-ranking officer, who shot himself minutes before he was due to meet two reporters who questioned his right to wear Vietnam combat medals.

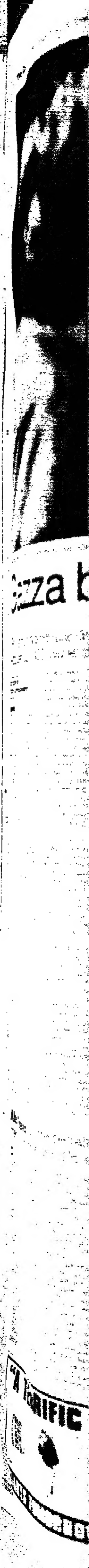
Peres 'set for slim victory'

continued from page 1 cast his vote yesterday morning. "One road leads to peace, the other to Jewish settlements, and these are in full control of the prime minister's hands," he said.

mounting evidence that fears on security had weighed heavily. For the first time, Israelis had two votes - one for continuing the prime minister's promise of peace.

Yitzhak Rabin. But Peres saw his advantage blown to pieces by Islamist suicide bombings which killed 63 people and horribly undermined the prime minister's promise of peace.

Advertisement for General Accident Direct insurance, featuring a hand holding a pen and text: PAY YOUR MOTOR AND HOME INSURANCE BIT BY BIT, INTEREST FREE.







Leaving a nasty taste... Gascoigne has courted controversy on and off the pitch throughout his footballing career

# Gazza blamed for FA own goal

### MPs want England star dropped if he caused £5,000 plane damage

John Duncan  
Sports Correspondent

THE Football Association was at the centre of a political row last night as MPs rounded on it for failing to drop Paul Gascoigne from England's Euro 96 squad after an incident on a plane in which £5,000 of damage was caused.

The deadline for naming the squad passed at midnight, with the FA saying it was "very unlikely" that anyone would be withdrawn from the 22-man list announced on Tuesday.

John Carlisle, vice-chairman of the Conservative Party's back-bench sports committee, said: "This has happened at a time when we are worried about what is going to happen when the competition gets under way. It sets a terrible example. The culprits should be identified, publicly exposed and thrown out of the squad at once. And if that includes Paul Gascoigne, then so be it."

Labour MP Andrew Mackinlay denounced the decision by England manager Terry Venables, who is in Switzerland, not to confront the players until Monday as "wholly unacceptable".

"If he is abroad, he ought to get back pretty damn quick and deal with it," said the MP for Thurrock. "Whoever is guilty of these acts of vandalism should be identified at once and at the very least excluded from the squad."

David Melling, Chief Constable of Northumbria, where a tough anti-hooligan drive in recent weeks has resulted in 63

arrests, said: "It goes without saying that all professional sportsmen have a responsibility to behave properly."

Mr Gascoigne was also allegedly involved in an altercation with a photographer at Heathrow, where the Cathay Pacific plane bringing the England squad from Hong Kong landed.

Russell Gilsby said: "I started to photograph him and he started shouting abuse and swearing. He was very drunk and acting like a real kid. Bryan Robson grabbed his arm and dragged him away, telling him to calm down."

Gascoigne's agent, Mel Stein, refused to reveal the player's version of events, in which two personal television monitors and a foldaway table were damaged.

"I've spoken to Paul and the FA," said Mr Stein. "The FA have already instituted their own internal inquiry, and Paul is very happy about this. He's going to co-operate fully."

The FA is also attempting to play the incident down. "We have to say that nobody on that flight — certainly members of the FA staff — are aware of any serious incident," said FA spokesman Steve Double. "We were not informed by the airline staff of any problem. I am very surprised because I would have walked past the seats where that damage is alleged to have taken place and I saw nothing untoward there."

"While we accept that there was some damage, we are not pointing the finger at any one player at the moment. There is no indication it was an England player."

### Alan Travis on the penalty facing mercurial midfielder if found guilty

PAUL Gascoigne would be likely to face a fine of around £2,500 and an order to pay £5,000 compensation to Cathay Pacific if he were found guilty by a court of causing criminal damage.

Although he would not be sent to prison, magistrates would have the power to impose reporting restrictions to prevent him attending the next game, as they would with any football hooligan.

The court could, for example, require Gascoigne to report to Heathrow police at 2.30 on June 8 when England kick off their opening Euro 96 game against Switzerland.

Magistrates have been set guidelines which give a fine of £270 as the "going rate" for the average criminal damage offence. But they could be expected to impose a heavier

fine on an England footballer who was found guilty, particularly one who committed such an offence two days after newspaper headlines in which the Government announced a crackdown on "job" culture. The court has the discretion to vary the fine according to the income of the defendant.

An international footballer in these circumstances would also face a hefty fine if he were shown to have been acting as a ringleader rather than on his own. He would get less than the maximum available penalty of £5,000 or six months in prison as his solicitor would argue that he had acted impulsively and may have also been provoked. A timely guilty plea might secure a discount of one third on his sentence.



Calling the tune... a pointed Loyalist tribute after scoring for Glasgow Rangers



Crying shame... after being dumped out of England's last World Cup in 1990



Belly laugh... Gascoigne keeps some jokes above the belt for his fans

### Gazza's gaffes

July 1991: Arrested over street brawl after all-day drinking binge in which he headbutted Gian Fulgenzi, an Italian waiter, and John Beach after Gascoigne's sister was knocked unconscious and the two men went to help her. Conditionally discharged for the assault on Mr Beach, but later pays him £7,500 out of court.

October 1991: Fractures right kneecap in scuffle at Newcastle nightclub.

October 1992: Forced to apologise to the people of Norway after telling them to "fuck off" on Norwegian television.

January 1993: Fined £9,000 after beeping into an Italian TV microphone during a self-imposed media silence.

August 1993: Book by former personal assistant Jane Notgate reveals incidents — including urinating on teammates and going on brandy binges — and alleges he suffered from bulimia.

January 1994: Allegedly punches Italian photographer Lino Nanni and is summoned to appear in Italian court in October 1996 over the incident.

July 1994: Rings up the News of the World to tell them he beat his girlfriend Sheryl Kyle for two years.

December 1994: Checks into stress clinic in Italy after reports of drinking and eating binges.

December 1994: Interviewed by police after two of his minders were alleged to have intimidated a man who was taking a picture of friends in a London bar as Gascoigne was in background.

August 1995: On debut for Rangers, mimics playing an Orangeman's flute after scoring and causes the BBC to be banned from Ibrox stadium for broadcasting the incident.

December 1995: One-match ban over headbutting incidents during a match against Aberdeen.

January 1996: Questioned by Gateshead police over incident in Indian restaurant in which it was claimed he hurled racial abuse at waiters.

February 1996: Goes on drinking binge in London with Rangers team-mates as girlfriend Sheryl goes into labour with their child.

February 1996: Interviewed by police over allegations by a former girlfriend of a sex attack. No charges brought.

# Bonuses for drought firm directors

Martyn Hales and Nicholas Bannister

A DECISION to pay bonuses to water company directors said to have suffered stress during their handling of last year's drought in Yorkshire has enraged shareholders.

Eleven days ago a public inquiry set up and funded by Yorkshire Water blamed company executives for failing to anticipate demand and prepare emergency plans. It also criticised the company for losing 37 per cent of the water it produced through leakage.

The much-criticised company has decided to compensate directors of its regulated water subsidiary, Yorkshire Water Services, for the "stress" involved in dealing with last year's shortages — a problem which the company had largely brought upon itself.

Peter Bowler, campaigns officer for the lobby group WaterWatch, said yesterday: "It is true that directors are to be rewarded, it is an insult to customers. It was their failure to invest in supplies and fix leaks which caused the crisis."

At the company's annual general meeting in Harrogate on July 25, directors will face demands for details of the bonuses paid to senior staff and will be asked whether these will be included in this year's annual report.

WaterWatch chairwoman Penny Ward said: "Quite frankly, directors should be surcharged rather than given bonuses. They are being rewarded for dealing with a crisis of their own making. That cannot be right and shareholders will want to know why."

Diana Scott, a former chairwoman of Yorkshire Water's customer services committee, suggested that customers who are active in bottled water and containers because of fears of reduced supplies might be tempted to seek compensation, as businesses and local authorities had done.

Alice Mahon, Labour MP for Halifax, called the management bonus payments "a scandal". "I can't believe it. You would have had to live in Yorkshire, and particularly West Yorkshire, to know the anxiety and stress caused last summer by their antics and chaos."

She said the directors and senior managers had themselves caused stress to customers by threatening rota cuts stopping supplies for up to 24 hours. "If there's money available, it should go on reducing bills, or into making sure we get a supply that is always going to be there."

David Nicholson, Conservative MP for Taunton and treasurer of the all-party group on water, said he did not approve of the payments. "It's a highly contentious matter," he said.

When water ran short in West Yorkshire last summer the company wanted to limit demand by imposing restrictions on customers, a move which would have had little impact on profits.

However, it was later forced to bring in water from neighbouring Kielder reservoir through a 24-hour tankering operation costing £47 million. Since then it has announced plans to spend £70 million on emergency measures to prevent a repeat of last year's fiasco. Chairman Sir Gordon James and managing director Trevor Newton are resigning.

In December, the company said it planned to reward staff for extra work during the drought, but refused to confirm that executives would get bonuses.

A spokeswoman said yesterday that payments to directors of Yorkshire Water and Yorkshire Water Services would be shown in the annual report and accounts to be published in the summer. She refused to say how many executives had got bonuses or how much they would get.

£1.5bn bid, page 11

# Animal-human sperm 'possible'

### Tim Radford on an experiment where implanted mice produced rat sperm

SCIENTISTS in the US have developed a technique that, in theory, could be used to make another animal produce human sperm.

They have found a way to make male mice produce rat sperm by transplanting sperm precursor cells of the larger mammal into the testes of its smaller relative.

Ralph Brinster, of the University of Pennsylvania, reports today in the science journal Nature, that the technique he and colleagues from the University of Texas pioneered could "prove useful in biology, medicine and agriculture".

Although rat testis cells were transplanted in 10 mice, and the scientists found that rat sperm production took place in 19 out of 20 mouse testes.

They also examined the long tube that connects the testis to the penis and found that those which had harboured the transplants for more than 110 days contained sperm with a shape that belonged to rats rather than mice.

Rats and mice are thought to have diverged from a common ancestor 11 million years ago. The success of the experiment suggests that at least part of the sperm process is common to all mammals.

But the remarkable thing is that the mice were able to nurture sperm that took 50 per cent longer to develop than they would naturally produce, and with a different shape.

When you freeze a stem cell and you can show it will grow in another animal, you have saved that individual, you have immortalised that individual," he said. "It's a totally new concept in biology."

"It's very unlikely I think that one could not freeze the sperm stem cells of all mammalian species. I would be surprised if the human stem cells could not be frozen and perhaps kept for many years, perhaps indefinitely."

The research poses a new problem for those bodies set up to consider the ethics of genetic research. The 1990 Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act sets certain constraints on embryology research in Britain. But it does not expressly deal with sperm machinery transplants until now, no one had expected these to be possible.

But the transplant from one species to another is only one of a series of recent dramatic developments in genetic engineering. Scientists in Britain and the US are racing to perfect a pig with a human-compatible heart, and a sheep in Edinburgh has been producing a human protein for years.

Other experimental transfers include:

- An "antifreeze" gene from an Arctic flounder into a tomato to prevent frost damage;
- A banana with a gene which makes a vaccine against the blood virus, hepatitis B;
- Mustard plants with a bacteria gene which makes biodegradable plastic;
- Tobacco with a gene for thinning the blood;
- Rubber trees which could one day be "milked" for human growth hormones or vaccines.

**"A TERRIFIC TWISTED COMEDY A DAZZLING MIX OF MIRTH AND MALICE"**

A FILM BY JOEL AND ETHAN COEN

# FARGO

SMALL TOWN . . . BIG CRIME . . . DEAN CAIRD

FRANCIS McDORMAND WILLIAM B. MACY STEVE RUSSELL

STARTS TOMORROW

STARTS JUNE 14 AT A CINEMA NEAR YOU



4 BRITAIN

Silence reigns in chamber as roll of death is read at measured pace

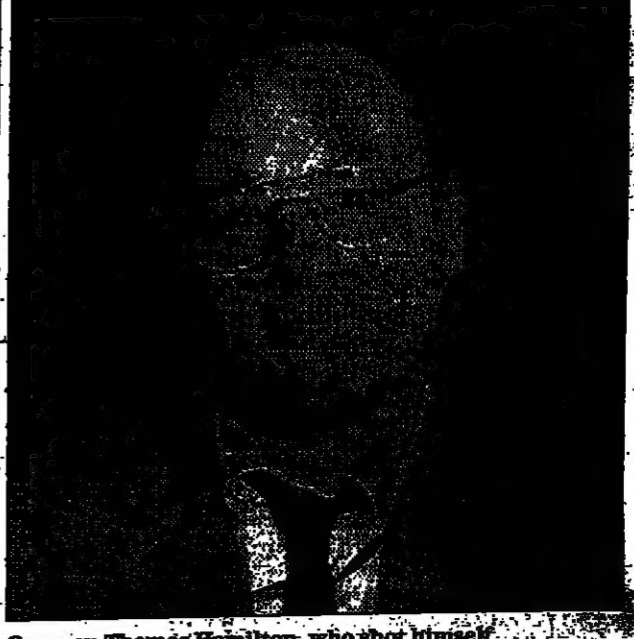
Erlend Clouston on the mix of restraint and bloody detail presented at hearing

THE NAMES of the sixteen children and their teacher were read out to a crowded but silent chamber in Stirling's Albert Hall.

In a firm voice, the Lord Advocate, Lord Mackay of Drumadoon, went at a measured pace through the list of victims of the gunman, Thomas Hamilton, whose suicide brought the deaths to 18.

quity, exemplified by Lord Cullen's courteous voice. "Shall we begin again?" he asked at the start of the afternoon session.

pped into a pre-fabricated media centre erected at the back of the Halls. Particulars of the suicide of the "caucasian male" spilled out of the loudspeakers.



Gunman Thomas Hamilton, who shot himself

Minutes of mayhem that took 17 lives

Police chief/ School staff did 'absolutely unbelievable job' as harrowing task of identifying massacre victims went on

THE most shocking moment of yesterday's hearing came when the inquiry was shown a graphic colour photograph of the body of Thomas Hamilton, dressed in black, sprawled on his back on the floor of the school gym next to a pool of blood.

Hamilton also fired a shot towards the main building where a teacher, Mrs Tweedie, was walking along a corridor. She was struck a glancing blow to the head. When Hamilton went back into the gym he fired five or six more shots, the officer said.



Gwen Mayor and her first-year primary class, all aged five or six. Mrs Mayor and 16 of the children were killed by Thomas Hamilton at Dunblane

Doctors/ How accident plan was put into operation

IT TOOK more than 12 hours, from 4pm on the day of the tragedy until 4.30am the following morning, to complete post-mortem on Thomas Hamilton and his 17 victims.

105 rounds fired in less than a minute

The guns/ Dum-dum rounds and four weapons found

A FIREARMS expert yesterday told the inquiry that Hamilton fired 105 rounds from one gun in the small school gym in less than a minute. Then he fired another into his mouth.

hollow-nosed and designed to mushroom on impact - similar to dum-dum bullets. When Mr Chisholm, a ballistics expert with Tayside police, arrived at the scene two hours after the shooting, the gym was strewn with spent cartridge cases.

Mr Chisholm said 25 20-round magazines were also found, each marked with a yellow sticker to indicate the front end. "This was not standard practice - it was a ploy that informed the user which was front and back for speed of magazine exchange," he said in his report.

switched the pistol from his right hand to his left and drew the Smith & Wesson revolver with his right hand. He then placed the muzzle of this gun in his mouth pointing upwards and pulled the trigger.

Tests showed no traces of drugs or alcohol. Hamilton had been healthy, well-fed and muscular, with no sign of disease.

Media/ Police back ITN after criticism by watchdog

ITN was criticised yesterday for intruding into the grief of families involved in the Dunblane massacre, writes Andrew Duff.

The council, chaired by Lady Howe, said: "Shots were used of clearly identifiable families together with the sound of their cries of anguish..."

ITN said it was extremely disappointed by the rulings. "The massacre was a uniquely shocking event, and, as such, ITN told the BSC it would have been wrong to exclude all shots of distress. To do so would not have accurately reflected the horror felt by the people of Dunblane."

Lynne McMaster, whose five-year-old daughter Victoria died, said: "I was too distressed to watch any television at the time but I accept the cameras had to be there. I do not really feel there was an invasion of privacy."

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# Party faces loss of control of troubled borough Labour ultimatum to council rebels

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

LABOUR tonight risks losing control of the borough of Hackney in east London when 38 council members, including 18 rebels, will be asked to sign an undertaking to abide by party rules or face permanent debarment. They will also be asked to abide by a whip approved by the party's general secretary, Tom Sawyer, except the authority of the group's leader, Nick Tallentire, and promise they will not make group decisions outside party structures, a reference to claims that the rebels have been running a party inside a party. Labour's National Executive Committee last week debarred the Labour Group — bar its four most senior officers — following nearly a year of internal battles. The conflict, in one of Britain's poorest boroughs, does not follow neat Labour left-right lines. One observer, the Hackney Liberal Democrat deputy leader, Keith Stevenson, claims the 18 rebels should be seen as modernisers. One rebel is David Phillips, a retired senior civil servant and one-time member of the private office of former

Labour minister Tony Croft. Apart from the demand that group members follow the whip, a central point of dispute has been the future of Bernard Crofton, the housing director, recruited in 1990 to improve the council's abysmal services and last month described by MPs as "a courageous and outstanding public servant". Mr Crofton's energy in tackling fraud split the party. "They cannot think this is a bit of the Munich agreement" Following allegations of misconduct and racial discrimination, he was dismissed in March 1995. He had clashed with Sam Yeboah, whom he accused at one point of not doing enough to tackle fraud. Mr Crofton appealed and, with the new council leadership in power, was reinstated in November 1995. However, last month a council-commissioned report by Ian Macdonald QC into "Services in Hackney" had given credit for goading the council into action, but also praised Mr Yeboah, and claimed that Mr Crofton was his job back under false pretences and should be reported to police. The council, with Liberal Democrat and Conservative support, has now agreed that the report not be published and voted not to refer the issue to the police. The split deepened when 18 rebels boycotted the group's annual general meeting on May 7 in protest at elections being deferred. Eight days later they defied a group instruction not to vote for Linda Hibbard, a supporter of Mr Crofton, for the post of mayor. Mr Tallentire's critics claimed he had sought to smear Ms Hibbard. In an index of the bitterness within the group, Mr Tallentire insisted yesterday: "It will not be good enough if the rebels simply sign the paper promising to abide by party rules and think it's back to square one. They cannot think this is a bit of meaningless paper like the Munich agreement." However, the deputy leader, Meral Ece, said the national party had misunderstood the rebels' position. "Services in Hackney have been a disaster. We want to improve them."

# Hume leaves real debate to later

David Sharrack, Ireland Correspondent

WITH one last tour of the town he loves, John Hume yesterday pressed home his message that a vote for the SDLP in today's Northern Ireland elections is a vote for peace. Beyond that the Social Democratic and Labour Party leader is playing his cards close to his chest on the impending talks — where the real action will be. Mr Hume never wanted an election, warning it would drive the protagonists into more extreme positions ahead of the talks. His party has thus fought a low-key campaign. He is also often accused of making "John Hume's Single Transferable Speech", and yesterday was no different. Only 10 days before reaching his objective of all-party talks on Northern Ireland's future, it is hardly surprising that on his tour of Londonderry he would not formulate the script. So he declined to answer "hypothetical" questions like what he will do if there is no IRA ceasefire and the June 10 talks occur without Sinn Fein. His task was to go through today's elections and go to the talks "to reach agreement among our divided people".



John Hume: main aim is for talks, not votes

But Mr Hume's colleague Joe Hendron, MP for West Belfast, this week branded Sinn Fein sectarian and fascist. Mr Hume tiptoed around the charge, saying: "There are differences between the parties, but to create a positive atmosphere we have not engaged in criticising other parties."

Did he think the SDLP will for the first time emerge as the province's most popular party? "I don't know. We don't normally." But he did admit the unionists were "all gutting one another". Would he do a deal with the Ulster Unionist Party leader, David Trimble, in the absence of Sinn Fein, if the IRA does not call a ceasefire? "Those are all hypothetical questions. Our objective is to do everything we can to ensure everybody will be at the talks. We have the best opportunity in 25 years to take the gun out of Irish politics forever. It's up to everybody to do everything they can to achieve that."

# 1 in 3 born outside marriage

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

ONE in three births is occurring outside marriage, according to provisional statistics published yesterday. They show that 33.5 per cent of all babies born in 1995 in England and Wales were born to unmarried women. The figures show a resumption, albeit at a slower rate, of the growth in births outside marriage after earlier signs that the trend was falling off.

The rate in 1994 was 32.4 per cent, little changed from 32.2 per cent in 1993. The one in three rate compares with 19.2 per cent (fewer than one in five) in 1985 and 9.2 per cent in 1976. Although Britain's rate has outstripped the European Union average, it still lags well behind those of Scandinavian countries. More than half the births to unmarried women in Britain are registered by both parents at the same address — indicating cohabitation.

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# 6 WORLD NEWS

## Srebrenica slaughter unearthed

Julian Borger in Tuzla

UNITED Nations war crimes investigators yesterday unearthed human remains on an isolated stretch of northern Bosnian roadside, suspected to be one of several mass graves containing the bodies of Muslims massacred by Serb troops last July. An international team of investigators dug three exploratory holes in a roadside in the village of Caraka, eight miles west of the former Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, and found parts of four skeletons. Across the road they found hundreds of shell casings. They cordoned off the area and marked their finds with numbered flags. But their forensic work and their mountain of evidence of Bosnian atrocities stand in marked contrast to the failure of the international community to bring to trial the leaders who gave the orders. Up to 8,000 people are believed to have been murdered after Serb troops overran the UN-designated "safe area" of Srebrenica last July.

But Mr Erdemovic is small fry, and the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, has failed so far to hand over Bosnian Serb political and military leaders indicted by the UN tribunal for masterminding "ethnic cleansing". Mr Milosevic's non-compliance was highlighted when the Bosnian Serb military commander, General Ratko Mladic, appeared at a funeral for one of his officers in Serbia earlier this month. No attempt was made to arrest him, although he has twice been indicted by the Hague tribunal for war crimes. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb political leader who has also been indicted for war crimes, remains at large and fought off an attempt by the international community's high representative in Bosnia, Carl Bildt, to sideline him a fortnight ago. Since then, Mr Karadzic appears to have consolidated his power. The hardliners' ascendancy has been reflected in a renewed drive towards the ethnic partition of the country, in clear defiance of Dayton which envisages a unitary state.

Muslim houses in northern Bosnia have been dynamited in the past week, and a fresh wave of Muslim expulsions has been unleashed in the Serb-held town of Teslic. The Bosnian government has said it does not believe fair elections will be possible with hardline separatists still in control of Serb territory. The US special envoy to the Balkans, John Kornblum, is due in Belgrade tomorrow to add to the pressure on Mr Milosevic, and a Balkan summit, chaired by the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, is held in Geneva on Sunday, when war crimes suspects will top the agenda.

As investigators pored over the evidence, the tribunal headquarters in The Hague announced that the first suspect to stand trial for the Srebrenica killings would appear before the international court tomorrow. The suspect, a 24-year-old soldier named Drazen Erdemovic, has reportedly admitted that he took part in mass executions at a collective farm near the river port of Zvornik. He was handed over by the Serbian government, seen to show co-operation with the Hague court as stipulated by the Dayton peace agreement.



Face in the crowd... A supporter holds up a life-size portrait of Gennady Zyuganov as the Communist Party leader speaks at a rally in Krasnodar, southern Russia. Opinion polls show his earlier lead over President Boris Yeltsin has slipped away less than three weeks before the presidential election on June 16. PHOTOGRAPH: YURI KOCHETKOV

## Albania may pay the price for election 'abuse'

John Palmer in Brussels and Helena Smith in Tirana

THE European Union is ready to abandon plans for closer links with Albania if reports of the rigging of the first round of the country's general election last weekend are confirmed by international observers. Opposition supporters in Tirana, who claim that at least two of their number have been killed by government forces, held the first of a series of nationwide rallies yesterday to press President Sali Berisha to annul Sunday's poll. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe is still finalising its official report on the election, but its officials were quoted yesterday as claiming that supporters of President

Berisha's Democratic Party had engaged in "shameless abuse" of the electoral process. The European Commission said yesterday it had received "disturbing reports" about the conduct of the election. In Washington, the state department confirmed that it had received preliminary accounts from more than 150 election observers about problems at a number of polling stations. Britain expressed concern about the conduct of the election, and hoped "the political parties will be able to reach some political accommodation soon so parliamentary democratic pluralism in Albania is safeguarded". Albania also faces demands for an international investigation into allegations of violence by government forces, which could lead to its

suspension from the 38-nation Council of Europe. EU foreign ministers are expected to review longer term plans for closer links with Albania, which has already been granted a trade and co-operation deal, when they meet in Luxembourg on June 10. The EU paid tribute earlier this year to the way the Tirana government has refrained from exploiting tensions between ethnic Albanians and the authorities in Serbian-ruled Kosovo. The election, the third multi-party poll since communism collapsed in 1990, had been billed as a turning point in the transition to democracy.

But Western embassy officials throughout the run-down capital conceded yesterday that the ballot had ensured the end of President Berisha's honeymoon with the West, although they said charting a future course of action was far from easy. Diplomats maintain that in spite of his increasingly embarrassing autocratic streak, Mr Berisha is also seen as the man best placed to forge ahead with unpopular market reforms. "What may be best for the region is not necessarily best for the democratic process in this country," one Western official lamented.

Opposition politicians, who called on their supporters to boycott the poll midway through Sunday's voting, appear in no mood for concessions. Despite President Berisha's attempts yesterday to temper the size of his victory by saying the Socialists — successors to the former Communist rulers — had gained more votes than initially thought, opposition spokesmen said they would not be content until the international community overawed a fresh election. "We are determined to expose Berisha for what he is — a dictator — and under no circumstances will we agree to enter parliament," said Gramoz Pashko, of the Democratic Alliance party. "The international community, and particularly the European Union, must be made to feel

guilty about its complicit acceptance of the situation here." Increasingly, the opposition leaders say they have come under pressure from their followers to step up their resistance to the government with nationwide rallies, strikes and roadblocks. Reports of the deaths of two activists, including a pregnant woman, and claims that four others had gone missing have radically raised the political temperature. "We are trying our best to contain people's anger at having seen their votes stolen," Mr Pashko said. "But we may lose control. It would be much better and cheaper if the European Union sent in 4,000 monitors to observe a new and clean election now, rather than having to send in 25,000 troops at a later date."

## EU socialist leader slams Turkey over human rights

Chris Mitchell in Ankara

PAULINE Green, leader of the socialist bloc in the European Parliament, last night condemned Turkey for going backwords on democracy, human rights and the issues of its Kurdish minority and Cyprus. At the end of a fact-finding mission to Turkey, the MEP said that the Ankara government would have to improve its record before the parliament would approve its slice of 23 billion in aid for 12 countries.

The release of money from the EU budget is down to us in the parliament to agree, and next we have to see some of the signs of the delivery of some promises made on human rights and democracy before we do so," she said. The parliament reluctantly approved a customs union between Turkey and the EU in December, but the socialist group went on to set up a permanent Turkey Watch to monitor the country's performance on democratic and human rights. A delegation from it, led by Ms Green, has met government ministers and visited the troubled south-east in recent days. She said she had been discouraged by the trip: pledges by the government to lift a state of emergency in the south-east, where security forces are fighting Kurdish separatist guerrillas, only meant this would be replaced by draconian powers given to provincial governors.

The delegation had found that months of political instability in Turkey had not helped the situation but said there was no commitment in any of the major parties' manifestos to tackle the problem of human rights. Quoting the fact that the chairman of the Turkish Human Rights Association was facing eight court cases against him for highlighting abuses, she said: "We are very worried there might be an attempt to crack down, even to ban some of these associations and foundations."

"We hear increasingly of people who have been tortured or have just disappeared. It's just not acceptable, Turkey has a long way to go."

## French monk forgave future Algerian killer in letter to God

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

ONE of seven French monks murdered by Algerian terrorists, had forgiven his death. Yesterday, his family released a letter in which Dom Christian gives thanks to his future murderer, whom he hopes to meet in paradise. Prior Christian, and six other monks from Tibehirine, south-west of Algiers, are believed to have had their throats cut last Tuesday, after being held for two months by Islamic fundamentalists from the Armed Islamic Group (GIA).

The letter, which he had told his family to open after his death, was written in January 1994, after the GIA first threatened his monastery. Entitled *A-Dieu* (To God), it reveals a love of Islam and a commitment to Algeria, where violence has claimed about 50,000 lives since 1993. Dom Christian writes: "If one day — and it could be today — I become a victim of the terrorism, I want my community, my church, my family to remember that my life was given to God and this country."

"May they associate my death with others, just as violent as mine but anonymous and greeted with indifference. My life is worth no more than any other, no less." Dom Christian said he did not want Islam to be blamed. "It is too easy to identify this religion with fundamentalism and extremism. Algeria for me is something else: it's a body and a soul."

Giving thanks to his future assailant, he writes: "And you too, last-minute friend who will not have known what you were doing, I want to thank you. May we meet again, in paradise, with the Father who is ours. Amen. *Zakariah*." Politicians and more than 10,000 Parisians laid flowers at the Trocadero on Tuesday evening in memory of the seven Trappist monks. Last Sunday, French churches tolled muffled bells — an event usually reserved for the death of a pope. But there was controversy as it emerged that the French foreign ministry had negotiated with the GIA for two months to try to secure their release. It also emerged yesterday that rivalry between the overseas and inland branches of the French secret services may have hampered the negotiations. Even though no bodies have been found, the Algerian government confirmed this week that it believed the GIA was telling the truth in claiming to have killed the monks.

## World news in brief

### González knew about death squads says former official

A FORMER chief of Spain's civil guard told the supreme court yesterday that the former prime minister, Felipe González, knew about a 1980s "dirty war" against Basque separatists. Luis Roldán, who is alleged anti-Semite and a Basque businessman, told the Madrid court that the former interior minister, José Barrionuevo, had told him in 1990 that the prime minister was aware of the secret campaign against ETA. He also said that it was part of the socialist government's policy. Mr Roldán has said he

### Priest driven into exile

ABBE PIERRE has gone into exile in Italy after saying he had suffered too much from attacks over his alleged anti-Semitism. *Paul Webster in Paris*. The Franciscan monk, once seen as a living saint for his work with the poor and homeless, told a French Catholic magazine he might end his days at the Benedictine monastery in Praglia, near Padua. Last month, Abbé Pierre, aged 83, was ordered to leave a French anti-racism organisation after he supported the philosopher, Roger Garaudy, whose book questioned the extent of Nazi massacres of Jews.

### Ferry crew on death charges

The captain and crew of the overloaded ferry that sank in Lake Victoria were charged yesterday with causing the deaths of 616 passengers. Captain Jumanne Rume Mwiru and eight crew members appeared in court in Mwanza, Tanzania. Survivors claim the captain and crew took bribes to allow people without tickets aboard. — AP.

### Suu Kyi's vow

Burmese dissident leader Aung San Suu Kyi vowed yesterday to bring democracy to her country, saying: "The future of course is democracy for Burma. It is going to happen, and I'm going to be here when it happens." — Reuter.

### Tutsis killed

Up to 80 people may be dead and 25 wounded after suspected Hutu rebels attacked a camp for displaced Tutsis in Ruyigi, central Burundi, on Tuesday. — Reuter.

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**Gadafy's threat**

The Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, has renewed his threat to deport Palestinians. He expelled 2,000 last year to protest at the Israeli-Palestinian peace accords. — AP.

**Rage campaign**

Belgian road safety groups have launched a campaign to restore calm to the country's roads. Insurer ABB reports that more than half its clients experienced daily aggression when driving, dubbed road rage. — Reuter.

**Ferry crew on death charges**

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# Unity could be loser in the race for prosperity

## THE NEW CHINA

In the second report in a series, **Andrew Higgins** in Beijing speaks to an economist who fears a Yugoslavia-style disintegration of the state

**A**T THE Success Club, a pleasure dome of marble, polished wood, and plaster nymphs run by paramilitary police, the winners and losers of China's chaotic dash for prosperity collide on massage tables.

The People's Armed Police previously used the premises, just down the road from the Beijing Worker's Stadium, to show Communist Party propaganda films.

Now the force uses the building to make money from brief but profitable encounters between the ever-widening poles of China's economic boom.

tic product of China's richest region, the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone, is now 30 times higher than that in the poorest area, Qionghong county in Guizhou.

"Former Yugoslavia is a very good example of what can happen if regional gaps become too large and central government loses too much power," said Mr Hu.

When Mr Deng's reforms began in 1978, Anhui province had a per capita GDP only slightly less than coastal Fujian. Today, both are far better off.

of which have large non-Chinese populations, economic grievances fuel resentment against Beijing and inflame ethnic tension.

Tibet, where Beijing was yesterday reported to have issued an ultimatum to "splitists" to surrender and repent, comes 131st in the United Nations table of general development — an index combining life expectancy, literacy and other measures of well-being.

Just as Slovenia and Croatia, the richest parts of former Yugoslavia, were the first to bolt, prosperous Chinese coastal regions could, they say, succumb to the same temptation.

granted to special economic zones by Mr Deng, now aged 81 and largely eclipsed as a political force.

Li Youwei, party chief in Shenzhen, which is a neighbour of Hong Kong, accuses him of trying to revive the ruinous egalitarian frenzy of Mao's Great Leap Forward and reverse Mr Deng's policies.

"Deng's road was correct but the situation has changed," replied Mr Hu. "We can't say a single word from Deng is worth 10,000 words by anyone else."

The economist has the backing of powerful patrons. His views mesh with the arguments of Zhu Rongji, a politician member in charge of the economy who has struggled to halt rapid decentralisation produced by Mr Deng's free-market frenzy.



Queuing for aid... North Korean farmers in Unpa county, 80 miles south of Pyongyang, wait in line to receive Red Cross supplies of rice and vegetable oil. The relief organisation yesterday launched an appeal for \$3.5 million worth of aid to avert famine and help the victims of last year's floods, which left more than 500,000 people homeless. However, North Korean officials insist there is no problem in feeding, clothing and housing the people.

# Hostage mystery deepens

Suzanne Goldenberg South Asia Correspondent

**F**OR months, they had been all but forgotten. But the confessions of a jailed guerrilla leader have badly shaken the complacency of Indian officials and caused genuine concern about the fate of the four Western hostages in Kashmir.

Keith Mangan and Paul Wells, both Britons, Donald Hutchings, an American, and Dirk Hasert, a German, have rarely commanded the attention given to Western hostages in Lebanon during the 1980s. Now 11 months (on June 4) after they were seized at gunpoint during a trekking holiday, Indian officials cannot agree whether they are alive or dead.

But officials have found no evidence either to support or to disprove Naseer's claim that the four tourists were executed on December 13 last year and secretly buried in the forest near Magam, an isolated hamlet in the Anantnag district.

Naseer's confessions, which have not been consistent, have also become entangled in the ongoing rivalry between various branches of the security apparatus.

During a routine raid in Srinagar on April 27, Naseer, the financial chief of the Harkat ul-Ansar, the group believed to be the parent of al-Faran, fell into the police net.

What surprised his Kashmiri interrogators was that Naseer volunteered information about the hostages; he had not been questioned about the four men in the first few days after his arrest.

Officials say Naseer was entrusted with channelling money from Harkat's backers in Pakistan to its fighters in Kashmir. He had also served a spell as group commander. Both roles would have ensured he knew what the kidnapers were doing, although he claims to have fallen out of favour with the Harkat leadership in recent months.

As for the organisation itself, it has declined to comment on Naseer's revelations. A curfew was placed on separatist leaders and on parts of Srinagar ahead of voting today in the Kashmiri capital and other areas in the final round of India's general elections. Separatists have threatened to retaliate against Kashmiris who ignore the call to boycott the polls.

## Officials cannot agree whether those being held in Kashmir are alive or dead

who were most closely involved with collecting intelligence about the four tourists, are unwilling to admit that they may have got it wrong. But the fact remains that there has been no sign of the four men for months.

## Xinjiang region cracks down against Muslim separatists

Reporter in Beijing

**C**HINA'S Xinjiang region has banned new mosques and tightened controls on border areas in a crackdown on Muslim activists fighting for an independent homeland, officials and state media said.

The clampdown is the latest attempt to put down an independence campaign in the region, which borders Afghanistan, Pakistan and three mainly Muslim central Asian states.

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First get the meat right
Food safety is the key to solving the beef crisis

NOBODY seeking to solve Britain's beef crisis would choose to start the task from here. More than two months after the start of the crisis, British policy remains in disarray. Initiatives that should have been taken have been ignored altogether, inadequately implemented or lamentably explained. Much else has been mishandled. If anyone wanted an illustration of the manifold perils of imperfect policy making, this crisis provides them all. Nevertheless, here is where we are, and here is a bad place to be. There may be every conceivable reason for attacking the Government for having got us here, but its failings do not absolve others from trying to plot a coherent course out of the shambles. There is a need to answer the question: if you were put in charge of beef policy today, what would you do? Here is a possible framework. First, you would focus every energy on the real issue — food safety — and not impale the policy on secondary questions, however important, such as the international beef trade. Getting the meat right is the key to everything else, and you would start by recognising that we are still getting it wrong. One way of changing that is by slaughtering every single cow in the country, but this would quite literally be overkill. There is no economic or moral case for such a policy, and there is no scientific case either. That does not mean that there should be no culling policy at all. But it should be an efficient policy not an inefficient one. Its overriding purpose must be to isolate and destroy the danger to public health, which means removing cattle of such an age that their risk of infection is high, and removing all those which are otherwise shown to be at quantifiable risk of being infected. Having settled that this was the most efficient cull policy, it should be organised more

urgently and publicised more energetically than it has been. But the real initiatives, all of which should have been taken long ago, are in quality control. Cattle should be tagged, in order to ensure that each affected animal can be located and accounted for. Having tagged the animals, it would then be possible to isolate a large number of genuinely BSE-free herds, according to agreed criteria, whose meat and other beef products can be passed as genuinely risk-free. Slaughterhouse regulation enforcement should be conspicuously increased and improved, again on the basis of recognised standards, providing a further public guarantee. All beef feed and all beef-derived products should be better labelled, with an emphasis on clearly understandable information to consumers. Finally, an enhanced and effective food hygiene monitoring service should be established, independent of producer interests and government, a public watchdog enabling consumers to weigh their own choices and make their own decisions. All of this takes time, and none of it is easy. There are no simple routes out of a complex crisis such as this. Given the international situation in the beef industry, none of these measures should be adopted unilaterally. Nor should the industry expect that the transformation can be achieved overnight. Some of these measures have already been discussed, others have been adopted, a few have been implemented. But speed and cohesion of effort have been absent. There have been hesitations and inconsistencies and a failure to prepare and explain. Even efficiently implemented, this intensified regulatory approach would probably fail to satisfy some foreign governments. But it would offer a scientifically coherent path for public policy and, over time, it is the route which Britain and its allies should follow.

Taxing questions in Scotland
Why the right policy will make Labour unpopular

REPORTS over the past fortnight that the Labour Party is thinking of ditching the so-called "tartan tax" have been authoritatively denied. But that is not quite the end of the matter. Labour is clearly apprehensive that the pledge to give tax-raising powers to the proposed Scottish parliament may now be ebbing into a vote-loser. Tony Blair and his lieutenants have not yet made a final decision about how to play the issue at the general election, but it is increasingly likely that Labour will go for a compromise: retain the powers, but pledge not to exercise them during the first four-year term of the new parliament. If this is indeed to be Labour's policy it is the right one, even if the shift is likely to provoke much criticism from supporters and opponents alike. Tax-raising powers have an entirely legitimate place in any effective system of devolution. If you give nations or regions the power to rule themselves, they should also have rights to raise revenue. It would therefore be wrong of Labour to scrap the powers, especially as many Scots see their inclusion as a litmus-test of the seriousness of the latest devolution package, after so many previous disappointments. The Scots should have the power to raise their own revenue, and so should any other part of the country which votes for and needs the other tests for regional government. Yet to have the powers is not the same as to use them. There may well

come a time when a future Scottish parliament finds itself impelled towards raising extra taxes (and if it is, income tax is not necessarily the only or the best basis on which to raise them). But that time is certainly not now. Britain has not even begun the process of devolution from Whitehall and Westminster. There are huge steps to be taken before the question of raising taxes is in any real sense relevant. For Labour to commit itself now to raising revenue in two or three years time is nonsensical posturing. It is far more principled to say that the powers will be created, while pledging that they will not be used in the first term of the devolved parliament. Labour's opponents (and some supporters) will seize on any change of policy to make points which cannot be dismissed. It is not very flattering for Labour, apparently so strong in Scottish politics, to shift its ground on an issue so close to its heart. It is a tribute to the fact that the much-derided Michael Forsyth is actually a more effective politician than his enemies admit. And if Mr Blair can be shamed on tax, he is really as solid as he seems in asserting that the West Lothian question can be ignored? The Conservatives will not be the only ones to ask what else Labour is prepared to shed. Nationalists will seize the move as proof that Labour will betray the cause when the going gets tough. Labour may have chosen the right policy, but it will not have an easy ride for doing so.

Mixing in the wrong company
The president is tarnished again by Whitewatergate

BILL CLINTON REGRETS ... that three former business partners of his are crooks. Of course, he is not challenging the verdict: it is just on a personal level that he is "very sorry for Governor (Jim) Tucker and Jim and Susan McDougal." Very sorry — that they committed fraud, or that they did not get away with it, or that he ever got involved, or that it is happening in election year? As with the rest of this affair, including all the extra bits from bimbos to suicide via the sacking of travel agents, nothing is entirely clear. But if anything can save the fortunes of presidential challenger Bob Dole, it is the new impetus now given to Whitewatergate by Tuesday's verdict in Little Rock. No one should be held entirely responsible for his or her friends, but this goes a long way beyond accidental entanglement. Mr Clinton's testimony was not central: he was denying the

allegation, made by a banker found guilty of illegal practice, that, as governor, he had lobbied for an improper loan to one of the defendants. But Republican opponents (not Mr Dole who remains sanctimoniously above it all) can now crow that the jurors preferred the evidence of a convicted felon. The complexities of Whitewater need a very large flowchart to explain. As one Republican consultant said cheerfully yesterday: "The public doesn't understand the issue or what went on." But the Clintons are only mired more deeply by the confusion. Whatever the details, they certainly chose the wrong partners for their unfortunate land venture in the Ozarks near the yet more unfortunately-named Crooked Creek. Their best defence appears to be that most small-town politicians get tangled up with people who are slightly dubious. Perhaps, but they don't all go on to become president of the big country.



Letters to the Editor

Whether breast is best

THE breast-versus-bottle summary used to illustrate your article on the possible contamination of baby milk by phthalates read strangely (The 5-million-ton plastic pearl in food, May 28). You could summarise the pros and cons of sexual intercourse versus artificial insemination as alternative ways to make babies by pointing out that the traditional method, though natural and designed for the purpose, also has the downside of being "potentially painful or embarrassing to do", is "affected in quantity by possible quality by tiredness, stress and diet", and is difficult for other people to help with. You might not be surprised if people decided not to bother. Breast-feeding (like sex) is a lot less fuss than the modern alternative but, in the right circumstances, is a source of intense pleasure and intimacy for both partners. Gill Boden, 52 Avondale Road, Wolverhampton WV6 0AJ.

FULLY breast-feeding a baby to weaning is almost incompatible with full-time employment in Britain in the 1990s, which is a pity if the mother, as in one in six households, is the sole or main breadwinner. I work as a lecturer in a post-1992 university, on a contract which pays full pay for

the first four weeks of maternity leave, 90 per cent for the next two weeks, and 50 per cent for the remaining 13 weeks. As the sole breadwinner in my family, I returned to work when each of my two children was six weeks old. I returned home every day at lunchtimes and every evening at 5pm, sometimes returning to work between 7pm and 9pm, to breast-feed each child until both were fully weaned. I was totally exhausted. No one is asking for "special pleading" for breast-feeding mothers who are also employed — just conditions of service that recognise that workers are also family members with domestic responsibilities as well as employment-based ones, and who go to work in order to feed their families rather than have their families feed the greedy demands of the institution. Name & address supplied. COMPARE government policy on baby milk and education, with particular reference to parental choice. As to education, "only you" can possibly know what is best for your child. On the question of whether you are poisoning your baby, you have no need and no right even to know that a question arises. Nigel Blake, 49 Petersham Avenue, Byfleet, Surrey KT14 7BY.

How reconciliation between the parties can ease the divorce

ABOUR did not vote for, or support, the extension of the process of divorce to 21 months in many cases, as your leader suggests (A divorce bill to embrace, May 28). On the contrary, I expressed our reservations as to the additional three months proposed by the Tory dissidents in committee and, in a free vote, both I and the overwhelming majority of Labour members voted against the extension of the 12-month period to 18 months when this was debated on the floor of the House. We cannot be expected to give the Government unconditional support for a bill that unnecessarily protracts the process of divorce. This can only do harm to children, the parties themselves and any new relationships they may have formed. Your call for Labour to "embrace" the Family Law Bill is misguided and over-hasty. In its present form, the bill fails to provide adequate protection for the victims of domestic violence and the interests of children. The Women's Aid Federation of England refers to the "serious problems and dangers which women and children escaping violence will face in the divorce process if the bill goes through in its present form". The NSPCC has stated that the bill in its current form works "against the best interests of children". We shall, in the light of

these and other legitimate concerns about the workability of the mechanisms proposed, continue to try to improve the bill throughout its remaining stages. The Government's willingness to respond positively is crucial to the creation of legislation capable of delivering a sensible and family-friendly divorce process. The opportunity to move towards this principled objective, rather than party political considerations, will determine whether or not Labour votes against the Family Law Bill at third reading. Paul Boarding MP, Labour Legal Affairs Spokesperson, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA. WHILE politicians squabble, resign and score points over the Family Law Bill reforms, divorce continues to happen — and, if it is handled badly, children continue to suffer. The bill may now be flawed because of the continued tinkering and delays, but its implementation can still reduce this suffering. Any short-term political gain from the erosion and the possible destruction of the bill will result in the loss, to many children, of the chance of a protected future. Gay Cox, Family Mediation Scotland, 100 St Andrew Street, South Lane, Edinburgh EH2 4BB.

Eine kleine ...

IN the furor over the use of Beethoven's version of Schiller's Ode to Joy for football matches (Pass Notes, May 28), no one seems to have recognised that the Government itself has a powerful motive for censoring this work. Schiller was inspired to write his poem after reading Saint-Pierre's project for a European union. The Abbé believed England would benefit from membership because "it is to the interest of the English nation that the authority of Parliament and the present constitution of government should always be preserved but, in the right now, in spite of the measures of two tyrannical ministers." Derek Heater, 3 The Rotneys, Rottingdean, Brighton BN9 7DX. DURING the last war British propaganda used the opening theme of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with its rhythm beating out V (for victory) in Morse code, as a symbol of the Allies' determination to liberate Europe. In these much greater crisis, a much more powerful government was not put off by Beethoven's ethnic origins, and he became the composer who represented freedom. J Douglas, 1 Oldfield Close, Bickley, Bromley, Kent BR1 2LJ.



What little boys should be made of

SYMPATHISE with Kevin Post (Letters, May 24) for his unhappy childhood, but having brought three sons to happy and successful manhood I would suggest to him that "toughening up" is no answer. The child who has many friends will not be bullied. He will be secure, caring, popular and fun to be with. With these strengths behind him, bullying will not occur. Being a "manly man" is more likely to lead to violence than prevent it. Jeanne Pearce, 28 Melrose Road, London SW19 3HG. REMEMBER how I dealt with two bullies in my class. During a cricket match, I was put on to bowl and had the good fortune (or skill) to bowl both of them out in quick succession. After this, they treated me with more respect. There must be many ways of getting your own back while also "playing the game". F A Beal, 21 Gwynneth Street, Cathays, Cardiff CF2 4PH.

WHEN my son was bullied, I spoke to the aggressive boy in a civil manner and to his parents. His father expressed gratitude that I had been so supportive of his son. Our combined action enabled the behaviour of an unhappy adolescent boy to be kindly but strongly addressed. My victimised son was relieved, the bully was removed from the scene of his parents' support, and no one was called "wimp". Children, young people and adults deserve strong and intelligent emotional support from adults. Andrea Fawcett, The Avenue, Bramptonford Speke, Erewash S6W 5DW. BULLIES are the pathetic ones, not the so-called wimps. It is part of an immature, macho culture that glorifies in violence & la Mike Tyson. People should be taught to express themselves in more constructive ways. Keith Mackie, 4 East Preston Street, Edinburgh EH8 9QA.

The preferred face of Labour

YOUR report (PM slams ethnic mix in Commons, May 28) was of particular concern to those of us in the constituency of the Bethnal Green and Bow, the last safe Labour seat in London to select its Labour Party candidate. It has been rumoured that senior Labour Party figures do not welcome the possibility of a Bengali candidate in this constituency, and might suspend the selection procedure, or even consider imposing a candidate here — in spite of the fact that Bethnal Green and Bow contains the highest single concentration of Bengali voters of any constituency in the country. Those people, of all ethnic origins, who would welcome the prospect of a Bengali MP representing the multi-cultural traditions of the East End, are looking to the party to support Tony Blair's commitment that he is "keen to make it possible for more Asian people to come through and represent constituencies,

particularly where there's a very high Asian population". (Cllr) Michael Keating, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Flat E, 20 Barry Street, London E1 1RE. CONTRARY to what he says, Tony Blair is presenting Asian people coming through the parliamentary selection process. Fifteen months ago, Labour suspended four Birmingham constituency Labour parties, with predominantly Asian populations, and removed their right to select election candidates. As a result, Birmingham, with its large black and Asian population, is likely to be represented in the next parliament by all-white MPs. Tony Blair should reopen these parties and allow parliamentary selections to happen. Kevin Scully, Chair, Sparkbrook Constituency Labour Party, 1 Bloomfield Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9BZ.

A Country Diary

SNOWHOPE CLOSE: The Northern Naturalists' Union, celebrating 80 years of existence, held the first of its four annual field meetings this month. These are more than an exploration of the local flora and fauna. They're also welcome opportunities for old friends to exchange observations for, as most naturalists will testify, much of the pleasure in finding something rare comes from telling friends about it. So the conversation ranged over red cowslips, mermaids, colonies of yellow stars of Bethlehem and recollections of the nesting attempts of feral Himalayan whistling thrushes in woodland nearby. It finally gave me the opportunity to spread the news of a hoopoe at Harperley Banks, that had arrived with the swallows in April and provided wonderful views as it dust-bathed, raised and lowered its pink crest, and picked insects off dandelion heads, just a few yards from a spellbound audience. Today's walk, led by local farmer, nat-

Tough words demand tougher sentences

YOUR article on sentencing policy (Outlook, May 28) asked "this the way we want it?" No, of course it isn't. We want a clean, comfy existence. However, we don't live over the rainbow; we live with rising neighbourhood crime. Criticism, or whingeing, is the chattering classes' favourite, but it doesn't solve the problem. Your article offered complaints, no solutions; and no concern whatsoever for victims of crime. How would you feel if you were single, female, walking home at night on a well-lit residential street, and were

pounced on by four men? They grab you, then the bag and mercifully opt for the bag. You call the police, you're hustled into a patrol car and you see one of the assailants. How would you feel, after missing a third day of work, seeing the judge convinced by the defence that it would be an unfair conviction based solely on one witness's account, and so he orders the jury to find the defendant not guilty? And how would you feel to know that the defendant had a prior conviction for the same offence (inadmissible evidence) but escaped jail on condition that he not re-offend in

the next two years, which he clearly did? If they had jailed him the first time, some of the above would not have occurred. He will do it again. To another woman. While the Guardian whines about building prisons. Boot camps, prison or rehabilitation do not guarantee that criminal behaviour will be curbed; but all have had some success. They are a collective effort working toward controlling a problem. In the meantime, prison, even for a short time, gets them out of the neighbourhood. A Fernandez, London SW15.

PHIL GATES

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Diary Matthew Norman

I AM concerned by an article in the Spectator by Anne McElvoy, its deputy editor. Writing about the Spartan approach to specialising she has discerned within New Labour, Miss McElvoy concludes by saying that she is less gloomy about this than she was a fortnight ago. This is down to my old friend Mandy Manderson. While out walking with Mandy one night after a conference, she reports that "we found ourselves drawn by the intoxicating sounds of a local discotheque". Good God. "Before long we were, though I say it myself," writes Miss McElvoy, "the John Travolta and Olivia Newton-John of the gathering." Good grief. This is where it gets a bit steamy. "The member for Harlepool's tart thigh muscles," she goes on, "were locked behind mine as we flung this way and that."

Mandy's lissomness on the dance floor is no surprise (his grandfather Herbert Morrison was a famously superb ballroom dancer), but the possibility of scandal is worrying. Does Miss McElvoy's husband, Martin, vice, deputy editor of the Sunday Times, know about Mandy's tart thighs? And what on earth does he make of them?

FOLLOWING praise of Dame Jill's contribution to the embryo debate (she pointed out that making a pie from pastry deep-frozen for over six months is very hard), a letter arrives from the Churchill Press. "That is wrong," asks Heather Raybould, "with being a humble backbencher?" Absolutely nothing — especially when that humility stretches to writing a book celebrating your myriad triumphs in the role. This Dame Jill has done, and a copy of About The House accompanies the letter. It may very well replace Major, Major as Book of the Month.

THE DIARY is disappointed at the nationalistic fervour produced by certain papers since war broke out last week. It hasn't gone nearly far enough. No one has addressed the problem of highly placed German spies. According to the Di-rectory of Westminster and Whitehall, 27 MPs admit to speaking German, the most worrying one being Sir Teddy Taylor. Could that ranting Eurosceptic persona actually be a fiendish Hun facade? Significantly, when we called yesterday, a woman said "he has gone abroad". Abroad? Isn't that where the foreigners live? Perhaps he is hiding in Schloss Von Taylor, deep in the Bavarian forest, fearful of internment on the Isle of Man should he ever return.

Road rage arrived in Rio at the weekend. An amorous young couple who engaged in some smogging at traffic lights caused a 10-mile tailback when their dental braces became interlocked.

In Marie Claire magazine, rightwing political activist Andy Wigmore appears in a feature in which people are reunited with their first loves. "I've changed a lot since then... I'm more sensitive," says Andy, confessing to having been a bit of a rat when he dumped Gayle for a colleague 11 years ago. What he forgets, though, is that two years ago he dumped his body for a knock-down £100 to a female Sunday tabloid reporter investigating male prostitution. "Sex has a different meaning now," says Andy in Marie Claire. "Intimacy is more important." Ah.

A NEW car sticker has been spotted on the roads of Montana, which is home state to the Unions. It reads "I and all those disaffected madmen dedicated to blowing up the government. It says: "At least our cows aren't mad."

THE investigation into the Portland Thistle hotel in Manchester, which barred the entry of two non-resident friends of the Diarist at 11.30am, involving the Fire Protection Act (1971), has taken a surprising twist close to deadline with a call from PR person Julia "Off The Record" There will be a full report tomorrow.

IT'S THE BOSS'S GOLD-PLATED STAIRPIPE. A cartoon illustration showing a man in a suit standing next to a man in a uniform, with a speech bubble from the man in uniform saying "It's the boss's gold-plated stairpipe."

The eccentric art of being British now

Commentary Hugo Young

A PRIME casualty of the European war is the greatness of Britain. I don't refer, for these purposes, to British power but to the meaning of Britishness. It is being appropriated and perverted by those who make the Union Jack their political stock-in-trade. Daily it grows more narrow and self-referential. Its most fervent expression is not in politics, where Britain has its back to the wall and can scarcely pretend to any real power, but in culture. More and more, we're invited to exalt British values and icons that depict a country reveling in its inwardness, wallowing in heritage, and proudly flaunting a grim-faced self-regard against the defiling hordes of continentalism.

We're in a period when only history seems to matter, a condition Britain is periodically prone to, but which now burns with particular intensity. This coincides with the discovery that British children's knowledge of detailed history is splotchier than it has ever been, but that's another story. In general, the past is not another country, and we don't do things differently here. The rejection of Europe requires, it seems, the narrowing of nation, and with it a spreading stigma on modernity in all its forms.

Yet all is not quite lost. Mike Leigh's new film, Secrets And Lies, is at one level the quintessence of Britishness. It could only have been made here, only explored the tensions of a British family. The bourgeois anxiety of Monica is pure Scots priggery, uprooted to London. Cynthia, the confused, pathetic mother-figure, could exist, in her specificity, nowhere else. This is a film created with astounding precision and acted to perfection, especially by Timothy Spall and Brenda Blethyn, that's been out of the soul of the island race.

Yet it is a rebuke to the all-devouring vogue for reactionary Britishness. It has no trace of nostalgia about it, falls into none of the categories most commonly associated with our defining cultural brilliance. There's no deflecting irony, none of that deflating jokiness through which, in the British way,

arch parochialism underlines all messages about the human condition. Secrets And Lies is a film of universal power. In that sense, its Britishness is accidental. Like Train Spotters, it may not be a "better" film than Sense And Sensibility, Charlotte Of York or The Reader Hill Moh. But it asserts that the most famous outputs of British culture need not be confined to escapes from sometimes ugly modernity. It is artfully contrived but unflinchingly real. It looks forward and out, not back and back.

This is the only way great art is made. Nostalgia never made a masterpiece. Narcissism and nostalgia, encroaching again as the British paralysis, are the enemies of a culture anyone can care about. There were many ways to reach Andrew Graham-Dixon's brilliant series on the history of British art, which has just finished on BBC2. One of them, you could say, was as a history in pictures of British Euro-scepticism, beginning with the destruction of Catholic art perpetrated by the Reformation and continuing with repeated proofs of what Graham-Dixon, in his unflinchingly helpful book-of-the-series, calls the "irrepressible, vigorous eccentricity at the heart of the national imagination".

I prefer to see another rebuke to the conventional wisdom about Britishness. British art has never been purely British in all its most formative figures: the series showed, were two Europeans, Holbein and van Dyck, whose influence stretched through two centuries. There are even more ethnic strains in the history of British art than there are in the English cricket team: a fact which complicates the diagnosis of modern patriotism and should teach a lesson to those who want to see it unravelled into the past they can't stop trying to protect.

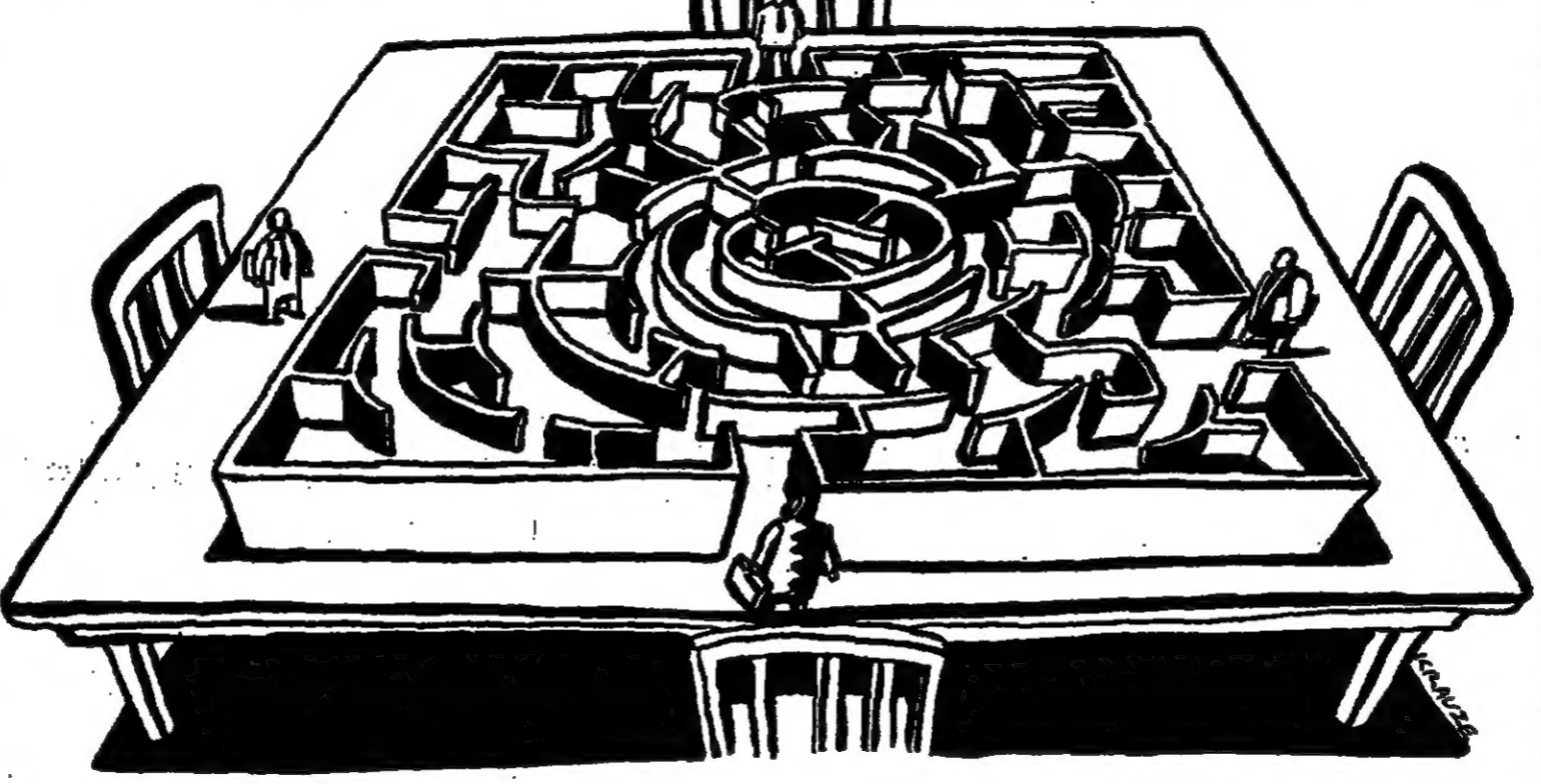
Equally, British art became void of power whenever, as in the Victorian era, it was hung after history, real or imagined. Graham-Dixon calls the pre-Raphaelites "pathological" in this respect. The Brutal disease they exemplified grew out of two afflictions: a lack of "consummating moral and emotional conviction" and "a

chronic inclination to subside into a lame and soft complacency with genteel taste". The great men of British art have been innovators and boat-rockers: solitary geniuses, Stubbs and Turner chief among them, whose passion and rest which is what the sceptic might increasingly makes it look like. It is open and unafraid. In its palmy days, it always embraced the modern world, didn't run away from it. What it's in danger of becoming is the lowest common denominator of a society gazing with sentimental defiance at its own wrinkly navel.

More ethnic strains in British art than in the English cricket team

Today Northern Ireland goes to the polls to choose who will represent it soon at all party talks. John Hume and, below, John Taylor appeal for honesty

Today Northern Ireland goes to the polls to choose who will represent it soon at all party talks. John Hume and, below, John Taylor appeal for honesty



Take off the blindfolds

AS we approach the talks process after today's election, the British and Irish governments now have a responsibility to put the search for a political agreement back on track after the diversions of the last few weeks. The role of the governments is crucial. Although they cannot create agreement, they can create the conditions in which agreement becomes possible. They cannot impose negotiations on anyone but they can make it possible and desirable for everyone to participate. It is up to them to agree a framework for talks which takes account of the legitimate interests of all sides. This would be based on essential principle: any participant can put any issue on the table for discussion, but no participant has an automatic right to satisfaction before serious negotiations have taken place. The British and Irish governments will, hopefully, conclude such an agreement shortly. Such an approach will receive the backing of most of the citizens in Britain, the Republic and, I am

convinced, Northern Ireland. There is an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons for a rational approach to genuine negotiations. It would be tragic if an intransigent small minority of backbenchers were to take advantage of parliamentary arithmetic to place yet more obstacles on the path to peace. The Republican movement also has a vital role to play in re-invigorating the peace process. That is why I have repeatedly called for a restoration of the IRA ceasefire: the end of which was a bitter blow, especially to the communities the Republican movement claims to represent. It was an own goal which has created a political depression in communities which were beginning to see the possibility of a more normal existence. Even if a relative peace has held, the climate of insecurity created by the return to violence is a substantial barrier to the political search for agreement. I hope that the ceasefire will be restored quickly and without preconditions. The issue of de-commissioning is naturally in the political foreground. It is not an issue which can be avoided here. Logically, the arms grinding the peace process to a halt. The issue has to be placed in its political and historical context. Only then can a suitable formula be found to allow it to be resolved. The demand that de-commissioning takes place first is as unrealistic as the proposal that it takes place last. In reality, the de-commissioning issue has to be both part of the confidence-building process and a measure of the advancement of that process. The ultimate object of the process is to remove the gun and the bomb from the politics of Ireland and Anglo-Irish relations. Logically, the arms issue will have to be resolved to the satisfaction of all sides parallel to the talks, as proposed in the Mitchell Report. The Unionist parties also have an essential role to play. No solution is possible without them, however much some of their leaders seem to cast doubt on that. No political arrangements can be imposed upon them without their consent. My party and I have consistently argued that any arrangements agreed by

the two governments and the parties should be submitted for approval by referendum. The Unionist parties tomorrow night, they will have their mandate to enter into negotiations with the representatives of the rest of Ireland. They now have an unprecedented opportunity and duty to show the leadership necessary to bring Northern Ireland into an era of post-paranoid politics. THAT means that it will no longer be enough to ponder to the prejudices of their most reactionary constituents. It means articulating a positive vision of the future and of the kind of society they want in our part of Ireland. It means making constructive proposals about the relationships in Northern Ireland itself between Northern Ireland and the Republic and between Ireland and Britain in Europe. It is no longer sufficient to pretend that only one of these relationships matters. They all do. They are inter-related. We all welcome efforts by Unionists to articulate a posi-

tive political programme which reflects the realities of our society. We may not agree with their prescriptions and conclusions, but the creation of a rational political discourse is an essential part of the solution. As the representatives of the majority of the people in all Ireland, the constitutional parties, north and south, have a duty to put forward a political agenda for the next century rather than one rooted in the last. We have to confront the economic and social problems of a small island in an interdependent and post-nationalist world. We have to examine those aspects of our political culture which are outdated and divisive. Above all, we have to work seriously with our fellow citizens, from whom history's violence and discrimination have divided us, to create a functioning democratic order. A negotiated agreement is within sight — provided everyone takes off their blindfolds. John Hume, SDLP leader, is MP for Foyle. His book, Personal Views On Peace, Politics And Reconciliation in Ireland (Arlinn), is published on June 10

We want peace but within the UK

THE Ulster Unionist Party is looking forward to entering the talks process. We will be approaching these talks with positive proposals for a new peaceful Northern Ireland, within the UK, where the population will be able to express fully their many complex identities. Tomorrow we will know if the pro-Union population has endorsed the radical leadership of David Trimble or whether Dr Paisley has hijacked things again. The endorsement of Paisley's approach will either leave the Union undented at the talks table, or encourage

civil servants to bring forward proposals acceptable to the 60 per cent of the electorate who seek a province secure within the UK. As Gerry Adams and Mitchell McLaughlin have stated, their wish is to put the union between Britain and Northern Ireland on the table for discussion. Only the votes of the pro-Union electorate can ensure that the principle of consent, agreed to by London and Dublin governments, is upheld. The talks will then proceed, whether or not Sinn Féin is represented, along the three designated strands — the internal administra-

tion of Northern Ireland, north-south relationships and the UK-Republic axis. The Ulster Unionists seek a devolved administration for Northern Ireland with fair shares for all, a pragmatic, enhanced relationship between Ulster and the rest of the island and an open but close relationship between London and Dublin. MANY obstacles remain. The primary one is the absence of an IRA ceasefire and agreement on early de-commissioning. We will be holding the two governments to their commitments on this

point. Unionists of all hues remain sceptical of the good faith of the Dublin government, particularly in relation to those articles of its constitution laying claim to UK territory. They are the real obstacle to an improved relationship between north and south. These are matters for strand two of the talks, to start in 10 days' time. It is remarkable that London and Dublin have not yet agreed on an independent chairman of these talks. While former US Senator George Mitchell might have a useful role in securing commitments from Sinn Féin/IRA over de-commissioning, he could not be considered a suitable chairman given his membership of the US Democratic Party which will be pressured by pro-Irish Nationalist elements in the run-up to the US presidential election. But he will be familiar with the hypocrisy of Sinn Féin's election slogan "Vote for Peace — Vote Sinn Féin". As someone on the Ormeau Road in Belfast scrawled — "Vote Sinn Féin... or else". The Rt Hon John D Taylor, MP for Strangford, is deputy leader of the Ulster Unionist Party. This concludes our series of Northern Ireland commentaries

Bill Clinton washes clean in Whitewater



Jonathan Freedland

BILL Clinton's enemies have longed for Whitewater to be Watergate. The names sound similar, the charges look vaguely alike: arrogance of power, obstruction of justice, a cover-up orchestrated from the White House. One day, they dream, Whitewater will do to Clinton what Watergate did to Nixon — drive him out of office in disgrace. But Whitewater has always lacked Watergate's magic ingredient: a crime everyone can understand. On Tuesday, that changed. The moment an Arkansas cover-up orchestrated from the White House. One day, they dream, Whitewater will do to Clinton what Watergate did to Nixon — drive him out of office in disgrace. But Whitewater has always lacked Watergate's magic ingredient: a crime everyone can understand.

Most damaging is Starr's promise to keep looking into Whitewater's murkiest aspect — the 1993 suicide of Vince Foster, the deputy White House counsel who had key papers snatched in his office. If the Arkansas Three had all been acquitted, these questions may well have disappeared. Instead they will remain on the public radar screen — in another trial next month, in the Senate probe set to conclude in a fortnight, and in the media. Whitewater is now guaranteed to be the background noise of the 1996 campaign.

But background noise it might remain. For Clinton's prospects are not that bleak. Admittedly, the verdicts allow Dole to keep playing the character card against him. Latest Republican TV ads again cast the President as a double-dealer, raising his avoidance of military duty in Vietnam. A proven past of ethically challenged deal-making in the go-go eighties fits with that image nicely. But the character issue is a loser for the Republicans because Clinton has fought it twice before and won. In the Democratic primaries of 1992, the worst dirt surfaced swiftly: revelations of an affair with Gennifer Flowers; written proof of an effort to dodge the draft; and the first account of Whitewater. Clinton won the nomination.

AND in the main election, George Bush spoke of honesty and trust and cited a "pattern of deception" in his opponent. Bush lost. The American people learned long ago that Bill Clinton is no choirboy politician. "It is no choirboy," juror yesterday, who said the President had been a "very credible" witness, whose testimony had merely been outweighed by the crisscross of incriminating documents.

The chief Republican problem now is novelty. The party's only hope of maintaining interest is if they can produce a whole new accusation that nails Clinton with a specific and comprehensible crime. The chances seem slim. The immediate risk for the Clintons is that other targets of the Starr inquiry try to save their skins by offering testimony in return for immunity or a reduced sentence. Susan McDougal, who is facing 17 years in jail, may well be tempted, and she has plenty to say. Her former husband, with mental problems, is too tainted to be a credible source.

All this will take plenty of time and Clinton should be given his best. Although, as Richard Nixon learned, the second term is when the trouble really begins.

URGENT! 600 grants need to escape from poverty and disease. There are thousands of elderly people around the world, like Sada pictured here, who need help. But in the last month alone we have heard of 600 who are in desperate need. Many of these people are frail and destitute. Some are in urgent need of medical attention. We most have no families they can turn to for help. And if we don't find 600 sponsors for them, soon, some of these grants could die. It's just over \$1 a week, you can save a life. By sponsoring an elderly person in need, you can provide him or her with the basic essentials of life, such as food, clothing and medicine. What's more, your sponsorship will also support vital projects which will improve life for entire communities. Most of all, just knowing that someone cares can make a world of difference to an elderly person in need. To find out more, clip the coupon now and post to: Mrs. Helen Riggs, Adopt A Granny, Help The Aged, FREEPOST, London SW18 1JY. The, I'm interested in sponsoring an elderly person. Please tell me when I can do. Mr / Mrs / Miss / Ms Address Postcode Tel No. Send to: Mrs. Helen Riggs, Adopt A Granny, Help The Aged, FREEPOST, London SW18 1JY. On phone: 0171 285 0855 Help The Aged Adopt A Granny Registered Charity No. 27707



10 OBITUARIES

Sir Jack Layden

Silencing Mrs Thatcher

SIR Jack Layden, who has died aged 70, was one of the last great postwar working class municipal leaders...

letters after their name that Layden's own generation had been denied.

Beneath the authoritative leader lay a man who had spent the latter part of his life without much power, unable to defend fully the claims of the powerless

made the process of papal succession look like transparent, honest politics.

Metropolitan Authorities' in 1987 and took the fight for local democracy into Downing street where Margaret Thatcher encountered the plainest of plain speaking from Yorkshire.

That was the year, indeed, that he could have best after more than 40 years as a locally elected politician.

Other than local politics and his family his great love was Rotherham United, the town's second division football club of which he was a director and president.

Joseph Mitchell

An eye on New York's eccentrics

THE DEATH of Joseph Mitchell at the age of 87 after a brief illness sees the passing of the last (and arguably greatest) pioneer practitioner of that unique form of literary non-fiction originally developed in the New Yorker magazine...

It seemed at the time a seemingly ironic coincidence that the moment of Tina Brown's accession in 1992 to the New Yorker editorial chair (a development greeted with a deep distrust by many among the magazine's older staff and readership) also saw the appearance in the New Yorker Times best-seller lists of Up In The Old Hotel, Mitchell's collected works comprising his four best known books...

AS WELL as the pure pleasure they give, Mitchell's stories collectively reveal him as an egalitarian, libertarian democrat.

Mitchell was born into the farming community of Fairmont, North Carolina, and arrived in New York City after university. He was initially hired as a reporter on the New York Herald Tribune by that paper's legendary city editor, Stanley Walker.

many highly eccentric — who belonged to what Ross called "low life", and what many of the subjects themselves called "the rough element".

His ingredients were inexhaustible and totally unpatronising curiosity about his chosen subjects, an absolute genius for listening, and a flair for the outrageous, highly nourishing prose.

AS WELL as the pure pleasure they give, Mitchell's stories collectively reveal him as an egalitarian, libertarian democrat.

with a North Carolina drawl that remained undiluted after nearly 70 years in New York City) he often spoke of himself as a living ghost wandering through and around the shades of scenes and people long gone.

Jack Wyngaard

JACK WYNGAARD, who has died of a heart attack aged 37, was a principal dancer with London City Ballet. He had a brilliant, fluent technique and a warm and exuberant personality which endeared him to audiences, as well as to his colleagues.

Born in Cape Town, he studied with David Pools and Dudley Tomlinson at the University of Cape Town Ballet Club and joined the Capab Ballet Company as a soloist, remaining with them for five years and dancing a varied repertory.

He joined London City Ballet in August 1986 and was promoted principal in 1990. Wyngaard's technique was one that shone, in particular, in cheerful, demi-caractere roles.

But he also danced with distinction the part of the romantic, ill-fated James in Bourneville's La Sylphide and the title role in Jack Carter's Witchboy — the role originally created for John Gilpin.

He was a dedicated and versatile artist and a generous, loyal friend. His sudden death — it was known that he had a weak heart — followed an attack of tuberculosis which incapacitated him earlier this year. But friends were cheered that he was making a full recovery when this tragedy occurred. He will be missed.

Jack Wyngaard, dancer born November 7, 1958, died May 20, 1996

Joseph Mitchell... regarded by some as the finest American writer then living

Jackdaw



Freebies

MR RHODES had a reservation for seven people at 8.45pm one Friday night. Not until 9.45pm was the Rhodes party seated and there were nine of them.

ager and said the guy was nuts (but then again, he did know Sally and Susie). The manager ended up comping the meal for the entire table, drinks and all.

Later, I learnt that Sally and Susie were indeed familiar with Mr Rhodes. He wrote a letter every month about a different branch of the restaurant. They continued to send him gift certificates and assure him that everything would be fine next time.

This is a potentially valuable resource for the thousands of homeless people. The poor need only to have the willingness to be utter assholes to eat all they wish of the finest food and drink and pay nothing! Viva La asshole!

Torturous lies

HE found his first job in journalism, with the Japanese news agency, Domei. He

spent his spare time studying in the reading room of a local library, which was next door to the headquarters of the Japanese military police.

George's men

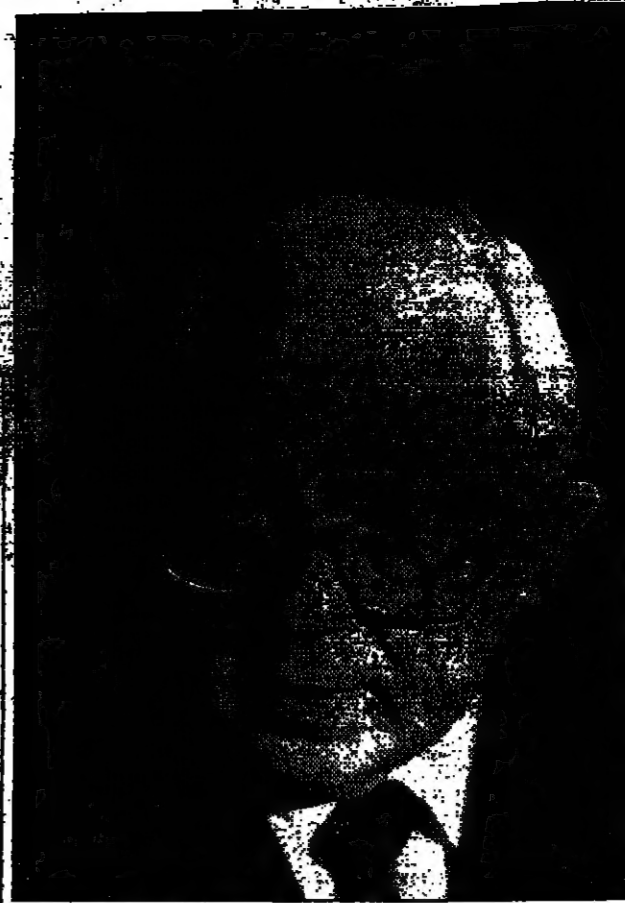
1. PHILOSOPHY — Rights are unalienable and are granted by God, not man. He does not in any way recognize the federal government.

able for his actions. They create their own law courts, and don't accept the jurisdiction of any other court.

Media Bypass

WELCOME to the catalogue pages of the Golden Dreams

Emily Sheffield



Jack Layden... folkish humour

out-of-balance working hours we have in Britain. But then he knew from life, without requiring any think-tank to tell him, that a Labour Party that does not tackle mass unemployment may hold office now and then but it will be without any real power.

He married Brenda McLean

Jack Wyngaard

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# Finance Guardian

## Southern Electric's offer under attack as dawn raid sees water falling its way

# Scottish Power out in the cold

Chris Barrie  
Business Correspondent

**S**OUTHERN Electric was poised last night to emerge as victor in the bidding war for Southern Water after it launched a £155 million "dawn raid" to buy 10 per cent of the water company's shares and topped a rival bid from Scottish Power with its own £1.6 billion offer.

£233.9 million on turnover of £1.7 billion. The dividend is increased by 25.2 per cent to 38.3p a share.

Southern Electric had to buy its water company neighbour in order to squeeze out costs by combining operations.

## Anglian share price rise belies bid interest denial

Nicholas Barnister  
Technology Editor

**A**NGLIAN Water yesterday played down speculation that it would get drawn into the bid frenzy in the industry either as predator or prey.

look at those companies where there was greater scope for improving performance. "We have not had any approaches," he added.

a better than expected dividend — up 15.4 per cent — and the promise of more to come.

## 'Misery line' operator sees shares double on first day

Pauline Springett

**T**HE controversy over rail privatisation flared again yesterday when shares in the "misery line" between London, Tilbury and Southend doubled on their first day of trading on the Alternative Investment Market.

£10 million and £11 million. Yesterday's upsurge in the share price indicated that some of the institutions had made a sizeable profit, while others were still in the process of participating in Prism winning more rail franchises in the future.

company is also planning to replace the old-style slam door carriage trains.

## Murdoch seeks cable ally to fight 'news bias'

Mark Tran in New York

**M**EDIA magnates Rupert Murdoch and John Malone are discussing a partnership that would enable Mr Murdoch's new 24-hour news channel to reach millions of American homes via cable.

his new venture on already overcrowded cable systems. Fox has dangled before cable operators a fee of \$10 (\$5.60) or more for every subscriber. The fee would be by far the largest carrot offered to cable operators to help start a new channel.

Mr Murdoch has said that his news channel would be a counterweight to what he believes to be a liberal bias in news programmes.



Liquid assets... Dairy Crest chairman Mike Dowdall (left) and chief executive John Houston face tough trading conditions as the company floats

## Dairy Crest flotation looks less than electric

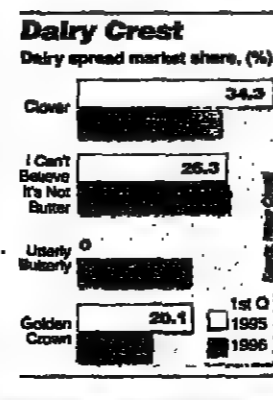
Outlook

Roger Cowe

**D**AIRY Crest, the nationalised milk company set up by the Milk Marketing Board (MMB), will be floated in a flotation this summer.

operating level, profits were ahead by almost a fifth. Yet the finance director, Ian Laurie, admitted the company faces "some very competitive trading conditions".

arrangements scrapped two years ago. Since 1990 the firm has shrunk substantially. There are 28 plants and 12,500 employees. Now there are just 11 locations and 3,500 staff.



## Sir Rocco's hotel bid shown the door by Granada

Ian King

**S**IR Rocco Forte has been spurned by Granada Group in his latest £1 billion bid to buy back part of his hotels empire, it was revealed last night.

which it is understood concentrated on the Meridian chain. Sir Rocco added: "We secured substantial debt and equity funding to make up our bid, and I am sorry that for Forte, Granada said it would sell Meridian, prompting interest from leading international hotel groups including Marriott, Sheraton and Accor."

reject Sir Rocco's bid, stressed that there was "nothing personal" in the decision, and reiterated that it intended to keep Meridian for now. During the closing stages of its bid for Forte, Granada said it would sell Meridian, prompting interest from leading international hotel groups including Marriott, Sheraton and Accor.

## Notebook

### Sterling ignores Euro-wrangling



Edited by Alex Brummer

**G**IVEN the current European perceptions of Britain — that of a weak government being swept into a Euro-phobic posture by dissent in its ranks — this could have been a dicey period for sterling on the foreign exchanges.

ing of the public finances and, however irrational, the prospect of a Labour government — eventually will reverse the current trend.

### Galleic endowment

**T**HE privatisation of France Telecom seems to be the thick end of a year away, but already it looks like being a messy affair.

A very Galleic compromise over status is likely to add to the confusion. France Telecom will cease to be a civil service body next January but existing staff, though not new recruits, will be able to keep their civil service standing.

Hardly an ideal situation for a company facing the liberalisation of the European Union's telecommunications market at the beginning of 1996.

### Green futures

**A**T first glance the interim results from Michael Green's Carlton Communications look impressive with pre-tax profits up 18 per cent at £243 million (details facing page), well ahead of analysts' expectations.

But there is some reason to be concerned about Carlton's future. Profits from broadcast television, the largest part of the business and which broadly makes up half the earnings, are flat in a market-

MAI, which might have been a merger target, is now beyond Carlton's reach leaving only second ranking television franchises, like ZTV, available.

Nevertheless, like Carlton has sensibly managed to cover the shortfalls through its investment in production which is paying off in terms of new contracts and extremely buoyant sales to cable and satellite channels here and overseas.

The UK's first-quarter GDP data showed that manufacturing already is suffering from near-recessionary conditions. Europe's current technical unemployment will not help, despite the current optimism among the foreign exchange technicians.

In the end, political circumstances are certain to overweigh current technical enthusiasm. The quarrel with Europe, John Major's weakness, the unexpected worsen-

## Small investors powering unending Wall Street boom

Mark Tran in New York

**A**MERICA'S ardour for the stock market shows no signs of abating, despite Wall Street worries of a crash, with individual investors pouring \$98 billion (\$25 billion) into mutual funds in the first four months of this year.

ingly inconvertible rally in the stock market, but some of them are worried.

"The last market I remember being labelled as liquidity-driven was in 1987," said Byron Wien, equity strategist at Morgan Stanley. "It ended badly enough that I feel a spinal shudder every time I hear the phrase."

Retirement accounts make up as much as 40 per cent of total stock fund sales and these investors say they are in for the long haul. But "baby boom" investors have yet to experience a prolonged bear market and the big impact may be an extremely buoyant start to their next equity erode in a prolonged downturn.

In the past, investors took advantage of dips to put money into mutual funds, but they might lack the stomach for a 20 per cent plunge in the stock market, which is predicted for this year.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 1.2850	France 7.28	Italy 2.306	Singapore 2.00
Canada 1.532	Germany 2.27	Japan 164.0	South Africa 6.46
Denmark 6.65	Greenland 361.50	Netherlands 2.5425	Spain 168.75
Canada 2.0325	Hong Kong 11.42	New Zealand 2.15	Sweden 10.16
Cyprus 0.6880	India 55.975	Norway 9.75	Switzerland 1.28
Denmark 6.61	Ireland 0.9425	Portugal 204.00	Turkey 113.750
Finland 7.14	Israel 4.84	Saudi Arabia 5.55	USA 1.46



# Carlton says it can go it alone

Pauline Springett

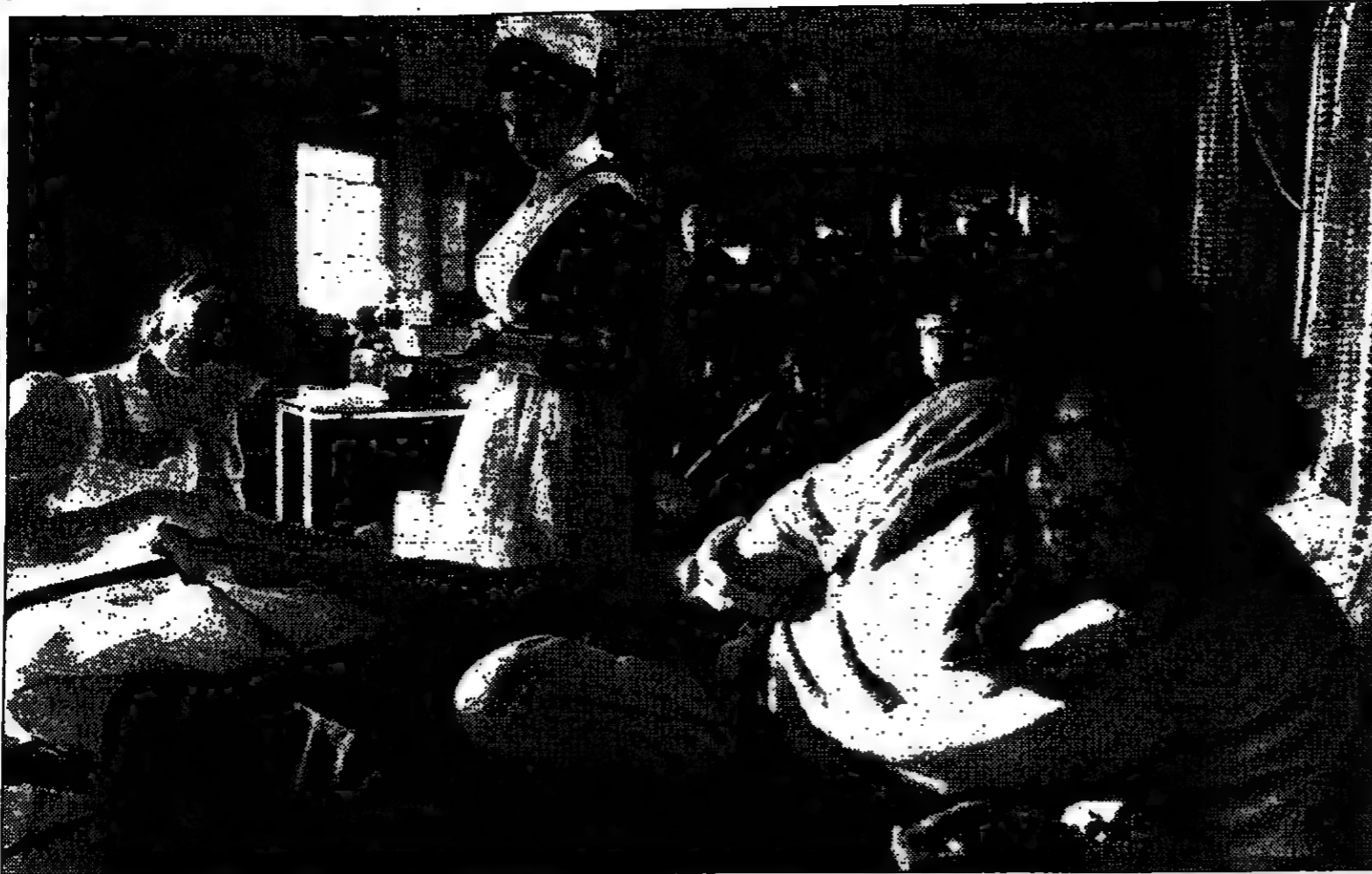
CARLTON, the London ITV contractor, yesterday tried to defuse speculation that it was poised for an acquisition by stressing the potential of its established businesses.

But analysts believe that the company, which was announcing a 19 per cent jump in half year pre-tax profits to £143.3 million, is probably preparing a bid. Possible targets include Mirror Group or fellow ITV contractor ITV.

The media have been seeing radical restructuring and MAF's recent merger with United News & Media intensified the belief in the City that Carlton would have to make its own move to maintain momentum.

Carlton's chairman Michael Green said: "While the opportunities for investing beyond our existing businesses may be extensive, the prices required are often very demanding. It is our task to take advantage of the former without paying the latter."

Carlton's results, fuelled by programmes and video



Healthy profits... Carlton continues to rely on offerings like Bramwell (ITV, Mondays) to make broadcast television its biggest earner

sales were better than the City had expected. Although overall operating profit grew by 14 per cent to £140 million, that of the broadcast television div-

ision was almost unchanged at £61 million, with advertising revenue flat. This division remained Carlton's biggest earner, with successes including

Kavanagh QC, Bramwell, Cadfael, and Peak Practice. The video and sound products division increased profits by 46 per cent to £20.5 million, boosted by

the performance of its design operation Quantel. Video production and distribution profits rose 13 per cent to £37.1 million, with best selling videos includ-

ing Disney's Pocahontas and The Aristocats. Film and television services produced a 33 per cent increase in profits to £36.3 million.

News in brief

## Offshoot fraud may cost KHD £276m

THE financial damage to German engineering group Kloeckner-Humboldt-Deutz (KHD) from hidden losses at a subsidiary could be as high as DM650 million (£276 million), public prosecutors said yesterday. Regine Appenrodt, public prosecutor in Cologne, said KHD cited this figure in a criminal complaint filed against 15 people in and out of the company. Mr Appenrodt said prosecutors would launch an investigation outside the bank of the company on possible charges of embezzlement and fraud against leading KHD employees. Previously, KHD said it had suspended Paul Hochberg, management board chairman of KHD subsidiary Humboldt Wedag and deputy chairman of the KHD group. It also suspended Wedag board members Lothar Hartmann and Hans-Juergen Gaertner. Last week Mr Gaertner disclosed that Wedag board members had manipulated the balance sheet and concealed losses for several years, sparking a crisis that now threatens the KHD group. — *Reuter*

## Brent Walker director quits

BRENT Walker, the troubled leisure group, was dealt a further blow yesterday when the head of its Pubmaster chain, John Brackensbury, resigned. Mr Brackensbury, who joined Brent Walker in 1988, had been chairman of Pubmaster since 1991. He will be retained on a consultancy basis until the end of the year. A spokeswoman for Brent Walker said that Mr Brackensbury had done an excellent job and was resigning "for personal reasons". Some analysts suggested that Mr Brackensbury might have become disenchanted by the delay in the flotation of Pubmaster until next year. — *Pauline Springett*

## C&G trims mortgage rate

CHELTENHAM & Gloucester has shaved its standard variable mortgage rate to 6.9 per cent — from 6.95 per cent. The rate, available to the Lloyds Bank mortgage subsidiary's new and established borrowers from June 1, reflects the C&G's promise to beat the average rate charged by the top five mortgage lenders. Andrew Longhurst, chief executive, said the move proved that cost-efficiency delivered customer benefits. — *Cliff Jones*

## Texas chief dies at 58

JERRY Junkins, chairman and chief executive officer of Texas Instruments, died yesterday of a heart attack while on a business trip in Europe. Mr Junkins, 58 — who was travelling in Germany at the time — took over the company in 1985 and turned it into one of the world's largest makers of computer chips with revenue doubling to \$13 billion in 11 years. — *Mark Tran in New York*

## M&S unveils Prague store

MARKS & Spencer is opening a store in Prague later this year — its largest in central Europe. The company plans to follow this by opening shops in three other Czech republic cities. It said staff at the Prague store, which will be larger than M&S's shops in Budapest and Vienna, will be trained by UK managers "so that we are able to provide the Czech customers with a standard of service that our British customers are accustomed to". — *Pauline Springett*

## Pepsi boosts market share

PEPSI yesterday claimed the first signs of success from its "blue revolution". Following conversion to blue packaging and promotion at the beginning of April, two market research companies show Pepsi increasing its share of the market. AGB measured a 15 per cent share of the take-home market for Pepsi in April, up from just under 12 per cent a year ago, while Nielsen reckoned the new blue product took nearly 16 per cent. — *Roger Coos*

# UK leapfrogs uncompetitive Germans

The findings of a World Economic Forum survey will give new heart to Eurosceptics but rankings rather depend on how the results are weighted, reports Sarah Ryle

BRITAIN has jumped ahead of its key European Union partners in the latest league table of competitiveness published today — just three days after a rival survey showing an inexorable UK decline.

The Government will take comfort from the findings that core EU countries such as Germany have plummeted from high rankings in last year's World Economic Forum/International Institute of Management Development joint study of competitiveness, while Britain has improved its position from 18th to 15th in today's new WEF solo report.

In a study which will be hailed by Eurosceptics inside and outside the Cabinet, the WEF found that EU states as a group have now slipped behind three of the five other global regions. The EU region does not include Britain, which was classed as an Anglo-Saxon economy.

According to the Geneva-based WEF, Britain was one of just three EU states to rank in the top 20 of the competitiveness index, which measures an economy's ability to promote growth in national output and living standards.

Germany was 22nd, a 16-place drop from sixth place last year in the joint WEF/IMD report, now split into separate studies.

The UK did better in today's WEF study, the Global Competitiveness Report, than in the IMD's version, which was published on Monday. Britain was 19th in the IMD report, mainly because of the different emphasis given to some of the criteria used to judge a country's ability to make rapid and sustained gains in living standards.

Under the WEF rules, more weight is given to the flexibility of a nation's labour market and to the actions of its government, including management of public finances and the degree of its intervention in the economy.

So the UK score better than nations, such as Germany, which still have relatively high employment costs and have only recently and falteringly embarked on similar programmes.

The authors of the WEF report said: "The European Union is slipping behind many parts of the world in economic competitiveness. The current social welfare system is proving to be too heavy a fiscal burden even for

rich European countries such as France, Germany and Sweden."

The EU as a group, not including the UK and Luxembourg, was fourth of the five regions identified. Anglo-Saxon nations were second overall, with the so-called entrepot economies (including Singapore, Hong Kong and Luxembourg) top of the table. The competitive rankings were not the same as the straight economic growth performances, where the Asian countries came first.

Five of the six most competitive countries in this year's report, including Singapore (top) and Luxembourg (fifth),

did so well because of their exceptionally open economies, relatively small governments and low tax rates.

Britain, however, did not perform so well in all aspects of the labour market, ranking 37th in terms of its unemployment rate and 35th in the category which asked businessmen how well they thought their national education system met the needs of a competitive economy.

British bosses, on the other hand, find it easier than all but two of their EU partners to hire and fire staff, "restructure" the labour force and avoid the social costs of employment.

### Could do better

UK ranking, out of 49 countries, in these categories.



### The Underside

Dan Atkinson

DAVID Woods, media minder at the World Trade Organisation, suffered more than most during the 1988-94 Uruguay Round. Why, then, did he look so pleased in Paris last week when talk was of a new round of international bitching... sorry, vital trade talks? Easy: I'm coming back to London to join Goldman Sachs at the start of July.

HONG Kong shipping magnate and Tory party contributor (50 big ones for the '92 war chest) CH Tung is pulling out of the running for chief executiveship of the territory after the Chinese take-over next year. His Orient Overseas Container Line was halted out by Peking when it hit stores in the joint Goldman Sachs at the start of July.

SPOTTED recently in a National Trust shop at Polesden Lacey — the Surrey country house formerly the abode of Edwardian society hostess Mrs Roland Greville — something which looked very like a bum-bag, price £5.50. Not so. According to the shop label, it was a "posterior pouch". The National Trust disclose the item is described in the vernacular in all its shops other than Polesden Lacey where the manageress cannot bring herself to use the term. The Trust said: "She doesn't like the phrase and believes that Mrs Greville would prefer something rather more refined."

COMMUNIQUE arrives extolling the joys of banking in cyberspace, issued by an organisation called the European Union Bank. No, not another arm of the Brussels octopus, but an institution based in Antigua. Well, of course.

CHERRERS all round as Upstairs Downstairs returns, but the programme was not always so welcome. In the show's mid-Seventies heyday, the London Evening Standard reported business complaints that the old-fashioned images shown the world by Upstairs and others were "giving the impression that Britain is steeped in the past and not a nation building computers and Concordes". Alan

## Forex traders give top marks to the pound

Larry Elliott and Mark Miller

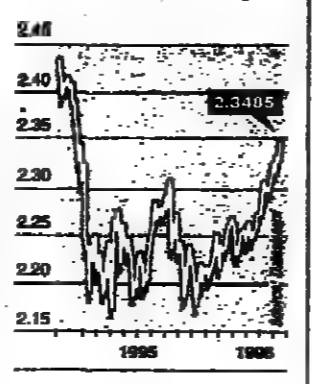
THE pound soared to a 16-month high against the German mark on the exchanges yesterday as dealers shrugged off political fears generated by the Government's European showdown over beef.

Sterling extended its good run against the German currency, which has seen it climb from around 2.17 last November to just under 2.35 at last night's close in London. The rapid rise continued in New York, where it was changing hands at 2.35.

Some analysts said last night that if the pound could break decisively above 2.35 — a key point on dealers' currency charts — it could move up to 2.40 or higher in the coming weeks. The upswing could get a further boost if the Bundesbank, which meets today, were to cut interest rates again to help Germany's struggling economy — though that would push the country's borrowing costs into uncharted territory.

The bullish sentiment towards the pound helped the Bank of England's latest suc-

### D mark/sterling



tion of £3 billion worth of long dated government securities.

Despite the size of gilt sales to meet the higher than expected public sector borrowing requirement yesterday's auction of 25 year stock was more than twice subscribed.

Treasury economist Tony Norfield at ABN Amro said that sterling was underpinned against the mark by the 1.8 percentage-point premium on 10-year gilts over corresponding German bonds while "at this stage of the cycle the UK [economy] looks in far better shape than Germany does."

Mr Norfield said that the uncertain political outlook in the UK — where the Government has a parliamentary majority of just one — had already been taken into account fully by the foreign exchange markets. "It could take the actual announcement of a general election to change the market's risk perception."

Despite the recent gains, the pound is still well below the level at which it stood at the beginning of last year before it was hammered by the collapse in the dollar triggered by the Mexican debt crisis.

Its new strength will, however, provide the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, with some useful ammunition if he feels the economy needs the boost of another cut in interest rates over the summer.

One of the main concerns of the Bank of England has been that a weak pound could lead to inflation by making imports dearer, pushing up wage demands.

But such concerns will have been eased among the inflation hawks at the Bank if sterling can hold at DM2.35 and \$1.53, even though a firmer exchange rate makes life more difficult for Britain's exporters in what is already a depressed European market.

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السنة 1350

Racing

Godolphin's Derby hopes rise as their leading colt's temperature drops. Chris Hawkins reports

Going looks good for Mark Of Esteem

MARK OF ESTEEM, who ran a temperature on Tuesday...

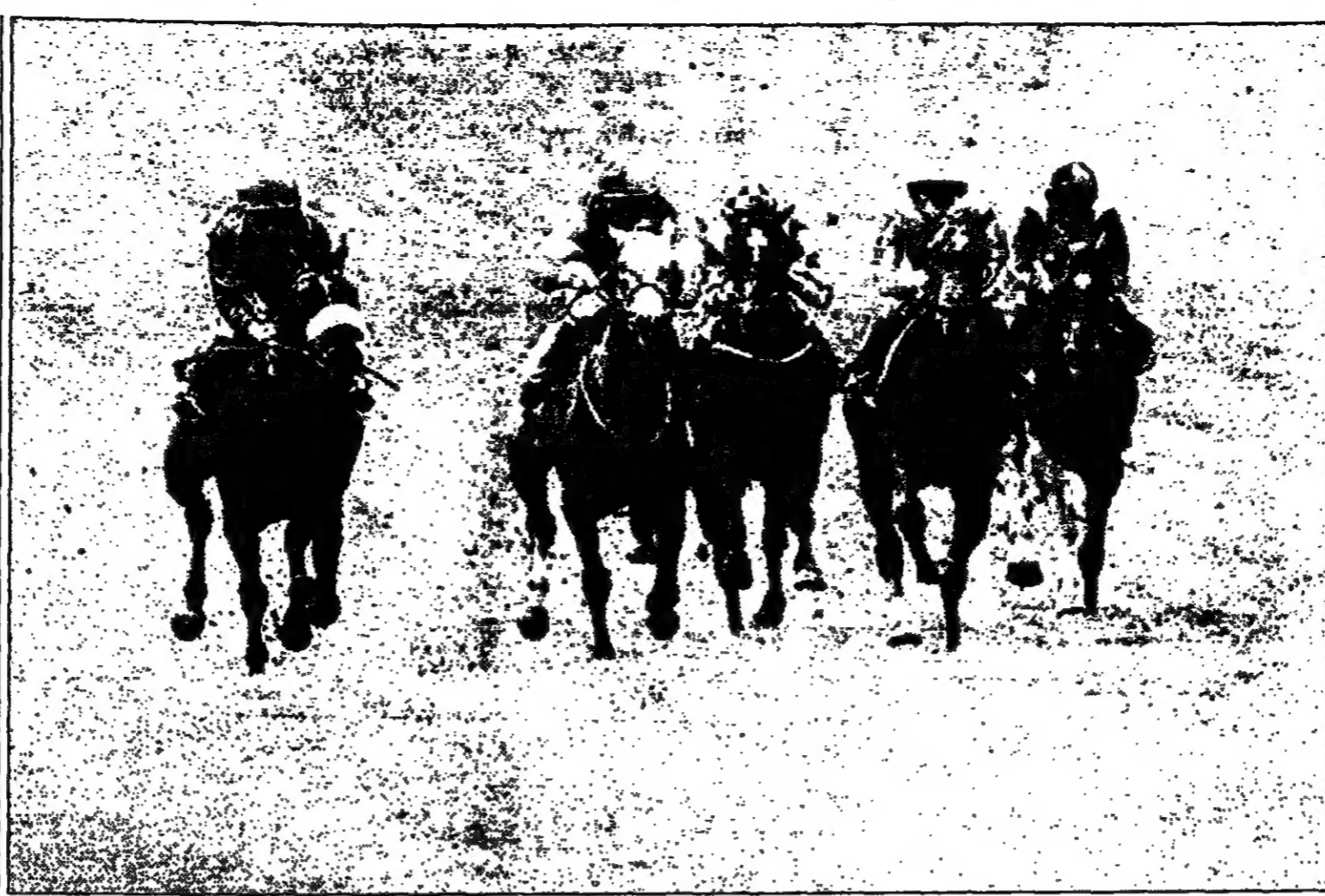
Saeed Bin Suroor is the trainer but leaves all the talking to Simon Crisford...

Some good news for all those concerned with the horse is that, despite an inch of rain at Epsom in the last two weeks...

This should suit Mark Of Esteem whose doubtful stamina would not be helped if the going were in any way testing...

Andrew Cooper, clerk of the course, says that the going at the moment is perfectly good and the course will only be watered selectively...

Mick's Love, the other Godolphin runner, was cut from 2-1 to 14-1 by Hill's yesterday...



Super run... Supercal (third left) is given a lead before landing the spoils in yesterday's auction stakes at Folkestone

PHOTO: MATTHEW RICHARDSON

There were 15 acceptors yesterday for the French Derby on Sunday at Chantilly...

There is a doubt, however, whether either of these colts, trained by Peter Chapple-Hyam, will run and a decision will be made today whether to

supplement the same stable's High Baroque, winner of the Chester Vase.

Godolphin will almost certainly supplement Don Micheletto so the English challenge will be far from negligible to follow-up Cobble Swain's memorable win last year.

At Carlisle this afternoon, Gynckel Flyer (2.50) and Symbalax (3.20) could be a rewarding double...

Carlisle

- 2.20 Oaker, 2.50 Dynamite, 2.50 Dymally, 2.50 Dymally

- 2.20 TUCK SHOP MACHINERY AUCTION STAKES IN CLASH

- 2.50 REALTY HOUSES WITHIN HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 3.20 BUCKETS CASE & CARRY HANDICAP BY THE CLASH

- 3.50 GOLD MARK HANDICAP WITHIN HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 4.50 FAMILY CHOICE HANDICAP BY THE CLASH

Hereford (N.H.) tonight

- 6.50 Puffed Puffs, 7.10 Jim Valentino, 7.20 Renato

- 6.30 WOODHURST HOUSES WITHIN HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 7.00 BURNHAM BELLING HANDICAP CHASE BY CLASH

- 7.30 BAYON BERRY HANDICAP CHASE BY CLASH

- 8.00 STONE BERRY HANDICAP CHASE BY CLASH

- 8.30 OUTWELL HOUSES WITHIN HANDICAP CHASE BY CLASH

Musselburgh tonight

- 6.45 Poozy, 7.15 RAYTRAK (nap), 7.45 Chocky Valley

- 6.45 DONT BLINK SELLING STAKES BY CLASH

- 7.15 SHERRINGTON GRAND CLAIMING STAKES BY CLASH

- 7.45 SHERRINGTON GRAND CUP HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 8.15 CASTLE HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 8.45 WALKERS BATHS RELATED HANDICAP BY CLASH

Uttoxeter (N.H.)

- 2.00 Stoney Petrel, 2.00 Lancers Hill, 2.00 Tonya Girl

- 2.00 TRINITY BATHINGS POTTERY PLATE NOVICE HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 2.30 TRINITY BATHINGS COUNTRY SERVICE CHASE BY CLASH

- 3.00 NYTON ENTERTAINMENT NOVICE HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 3.30 STAFFORDSHIRE AIR ASSOCIATION HANDICAP CHASE BY CLASH

- 4.00 TRINITY BATHINGS HANDICAP BY CLASH

RACELINE 0930 1684 CARLISLE BRIGHTON UTTOXETER MUSSELBURGH HEREFORD

Results FOLKESTONE 2.18 (1) S. GANOVAS HEARTY...

Results WILKINS Total £178, £100, £10, £100...

Results CARTEL 2.00 (1) S. GANOVAS HEARTY...

Results 2.30 (1) S. GANOVAS HEARTY...

Results 3.00 (1) S. GANOVAS HEARTY...

Brighton

- 2.10 Dalmeida Dancer, 2.40 Harrogate Walk, 2.40 Budget Sublime, 2.40 Sharp Leap

- 2.10 SHIP PROVED HANDICAP AUCTION STAKES BY CLASH

- 2.40 SHERRINGTON LIMITED STAKES BY CLASH

- 3.10 PLAMANDER AND ALLEN HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 3.40 SHERRINGTON LIMITED HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 4.10 SHERRINGTON LIMITED HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 4.40 CLAYTON HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 4.40 SHERRINGTON LIMITED HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 4.40 SHERRINGTON LIMITED HANDICAP BY CLASH

- 4.40 SHERRINGTON LIMITED HANDICAP BY CLASH

As Blinkered for the first time - BRIGHTON: 3.00 Eskimo Kiss, Grandes Oredras, Tommyknocker. CARLISLE: 3.20 Boundary Bird, Six Clerks. MUSSELBURGH: 6.45 Apiculate, Fozzy, 9.15 Kismetin, Phat Closer. HEREFORD: 7.30 Robert's Toy, 8.30 Thibainn, UTTOXETER: 2.00 Snowy Petrel, 3.00 Mr Christie, 3.30 Howgill, 4.00 Manebuck.



Soccer

League may block Wright's £10m bid

Neil Robinson

CHRIS WRIGHT'S ambitious plan to take over Queens Park Rangers and Wasp...

ace almost a decade ago, and it refused to approve a Brighton ground-share scheme at Portsmouth...

in signing the Manchester City captain Keith Curle and the Republic of Ireland...

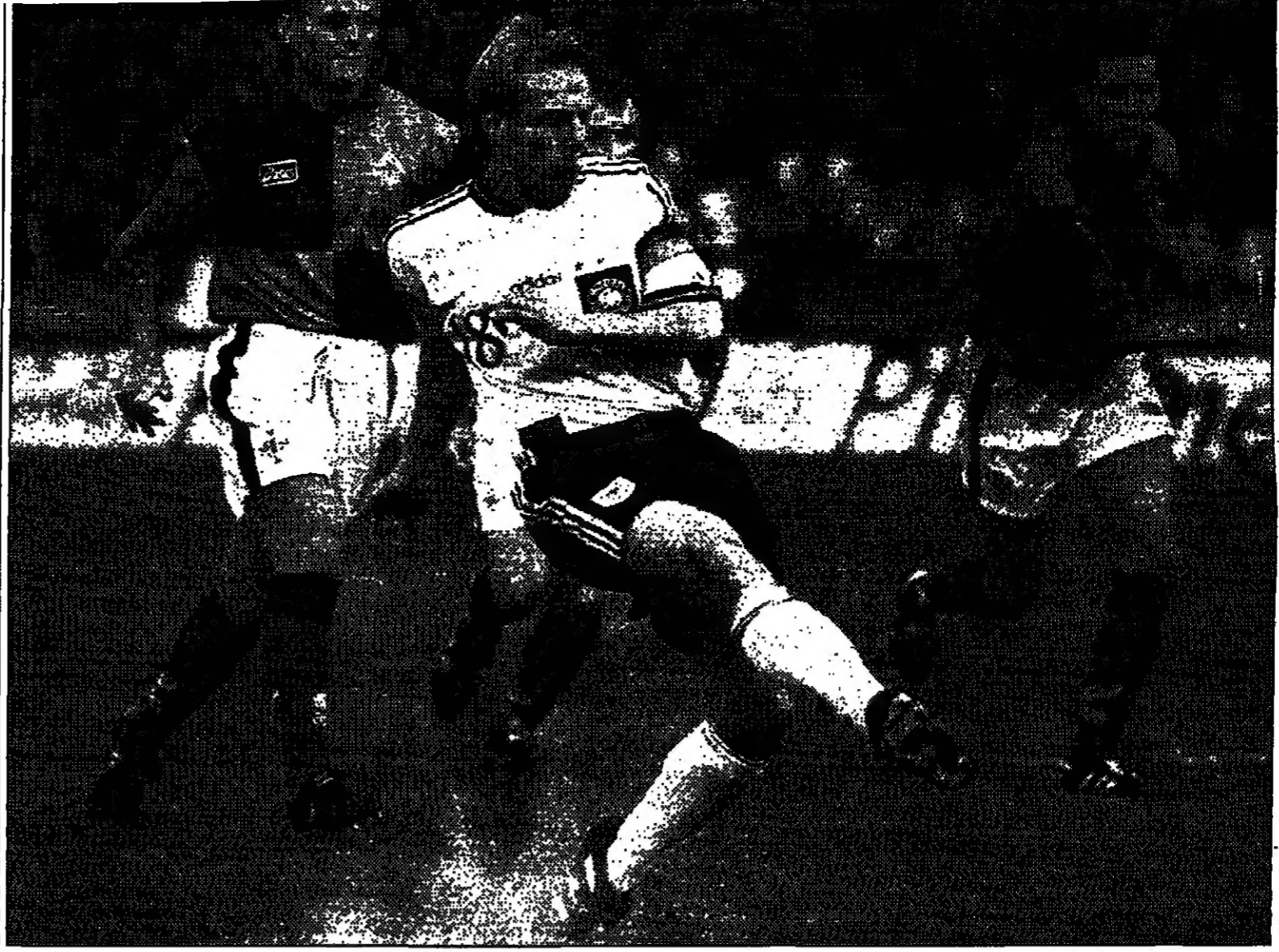
Swiss squad is voted a miss

SWITZERLAND'S coach Artur Jorge, who has left the midfielder Alain Sutter and the striker Adrian Krup out of his squad...

Brown yesterday forwarded his 22 names for Euro 96 to Uefa, with Derek Whyte of Middlesbrough taking the place left by an injury to Alan McLaren...

Early-morning snack proves costly for Croatian striker

WHILE Paul Gascoigne's alleged late-night indiscretions on flight CX351 could still cost him a place in next month's European Championship...



Wide of the mark... Germany's Jürgen Klinsmann misses with a fourth-minute penalty after he had been felled at Windsor Park last night

Friendly Internationals: Northern Ireland 1, Germany 1

Germans give the game away

Michael Walker at Windsor Park

FOR the past eight days since they arrived in Belfast the Germans have repeatedly praised their hosts for their Irish hospitality...

missing and Klinsmann, who would normally have counted as the seventh automatic choice, is suspended for that game.

Moller and his knock-back was being eyed invitingly by Klinsmann, who had slipped Hill, when Lomas tangled with the striker.

After half an hour of this the O'Boyle-Hughes combination struck gold with the former running home the latter's long-winging cross from four yards.

The Germans suddenly realised they were in a game and that Euro 96 was only 10 days away. Immediately they swept upfield where Scholl exchanged passes with Moller...

Republic of Ireland 0, Portugal 1

Folha silences Republic's young guns

Charlie Stuart at Lansdowne Road

ANTONIO Folha's last-minute goal, a speculative shot from five yards outside the area, completed a bad day for Mick McCarthy...

But McCarthy will have been well pleased with the performance of his young side and must have hopes of breaking his managerial duck against Croatia at the same venue on Sunday.

his non-appearance for last week's training or for the manager's testimonial, and that he would prefer to sit-out the games over the summer.

But Portugal almost opened their account after 10 minutes following a blunder by Ken Cunningham. Dimes set up Tavares, who was inches away from scoring.

McLoughlin then played a neat interchange with Tony Cascarino but, having rounded the keeper, he found the angle too difficult.

Cycling

Cipollini seizes the moment to take third stage victory

MARIO CIPOLLINI marked the halfway point in the Giro d'Italia with his third stage victory when he edged out Djamboliz Abdoujaparov of Uzbekistan in a sprint for the finish of yesterday's Marina di Massa stage from Prato to Marina di Massa on the Riviera. Cipollini's teammate Silvio Martinello, the race leader in the early stages, was third ahead of another Italian, Denis Zanetta.

group in 2hr 53min at an average speed of 28mph. He remains four seconds clear of Russia's Pavel Tonkov. Two of the favourites for overall victory, Evgeny Berzin and the world road champion Abraham Olano, trail by 26 and 50sec.

Sport in brief

Athletics

Tony Jarrett recorded a rare 110m hurdles victory over his Great Britain team-mate Colin Jackson in Bratislava last night. Jackson, the world record holder, never recovered from a poor start and finished in second place in 13.37sec, three hundredths of a second behind Jarrett.

Squash Rackets

England were able to rest Mark Chaloner and the British champion, Suzanne Horner and still beat the host team Malaysia 3-0 in Pool B of the World Cup mixed-tent event in Kuala Lumpur yesterday.

Billiards

Mike Russell, the world No. 1, has been fined \$1,000 by the World Professional Billiards and Snooker Association after an incident at a Madras hotel during a tournament there in July. But Russell, who was named Billiards Player of the Year only last Friday, was cleared of bringing the game into disrepute and his fine was suspended for two years.

Results

Soccer

FRIENDLY INTERNATIONALS Northern Ireland 0-1 Germany (0-1) O'Dwyer 79

Rugby Union

TOUR MATCH: Western Australia 20, Wales 0

Rugby League

STONES SUPER LEAGUE: Newcastle United 19, Wigan 17

Tennis

FRENCH OPEN (Paris) Man 500000

Baseball

AMERICAN LEAGUE: Toronto 5, Chicago 1

Hockey

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL: Great Britain 2, Australia 3

Cycling

GIRO D'ITALIA: 11th stage (Prato to Marina di Massa)

Basketball

NBA: Western Conference Finals Game 2

Ice Hockey

NHL: Stanley Cup Final Eastern Conference Pittsburgh 3, Florida 0

Evening Racing

NEWBURY 6.50 (1st 20) 1, BAYEN MASTER, J. Reilly (11-4), 2, Barb Alka (5-2) 11.50

Athletics

INTERNATIONAL MEET (Bratislava)

100m: 1. D Campbell (GB) 10.17sec, 2. D. D. L. (GB) 10.20sec, 3. D. D. L. (GB) 10.21sec

Baseball

AMERICAN LEAGUE: Toronto 5, Chicago 1

Hockey

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL: Great Britain 2, Australia 3

Cycling

GIRO D'ITALIA: 11th stage (Prato to Marina di Massa)

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Rugby League

Super League: Wigan 50, Sheffield 6

Eagles easy prey as Wigan soon get back in the groove

WIGAN put their cross-code challenges with Bath behind them and returned to what they do best at Central Park last night.

The crowd was curiously subdued from the start but attentive as Sheffield produced 10 promising, error-free minutes of play. Could they keep it up? They could not — and all sense of competition had gone by half-time.

Wigan's crushing victory took them to within two points of St Helens and they pointed to the top on Saturday if — and they surely must — they beat a depressed Leeds at Headingley.

Sheffield, who continue to find new ways of punishing themselves, made a succession of fundamental blunders and Wigan, inevitably, capitalised in merciless fashion.

In the build-up to the opening try Tugamala gained a lucky rebound. But later in the move Smyth should have been blocked out. He escaped to give a poor pass, but Connolly picked up the loose ball and left the Eagles' defence flat-footed. Farrell, 21 today, kicked the first of his seven goals.

The Eagles then paid the price for faulty tackling technique. O'Connor ducking under Sovatubua's high challenge to send Hall clear. A needless penalty, conceded in their own half, led to a try by

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Paul Fitzpatrick

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Cricket

Greg Baum tunes into The Don's telethon and finds the great man's final thoughts in public as difficult to draw out as he was to get out

Bradman's bat as straight as ever

SIR DONALD Bradman yesterday broke a silence of several decades...



As to why he stood so far above any other batsman in history, he replied: 'Don't ask me that, I don't know the answer'

Money and television had driven Bradman and Packer apart 20 years ago, money and television reconciled them this year...

The programme's prelude noted how much Sir Donald achieved in his career 'for nothing'...

Although apparently as nimble of mind as ever, he regretted at one point that Tendulkar had not yet toured Australia...

He played a few hours of a tune on his beloved piano, then stopped, apologising that he was capable of no more now...

Of the perception that he was the greatest Australian of all, that was for others to judge...

He was so rarely caught at the wicket, he said, because without any formal coaching he played with an unfathomable closed face...



Double act... Sir Donald with interviewer Ray Martin at the Adelaide Oval

Sir Donald fashioned his own conclusion to the interview by reading a passage written by Lord Harris...

from anything sordid, anything dishonourable, anything in any game in the world...

It was, said Sir Donald, his life-long creed. Channel 9 will probably refer to it as the marketing department to see if it can be put to music...

Bannister hit by flak over Illingworth book

Mike Selvey

JACK BANNISTER, the writer and broadcaster with more hats than Mrs Schilling's wardrobe shelf...

The book is due to be published on June 13 but extracts, including strong criticism of the Derbyshire fast bowler Devon Malcolm...

The involvement with Illingworth on a commercial basis has provided ammunition for the conspiracy theorists...

Benson & Hedges Cup, quarter-finals Emburey rolls back the years

AN OLD dog came up with some new tricks at the County Ground yesterday...

cutting to backward point where Ambrose took a sharp catch...

Golf

Davies drives into fast lane

David Henderson in North Carolina on the Ferrari owner gunning for US Open success

AURA DAVIES is Britain's answer to Greg Norman. She has not blown a six-shot lead in a major but she is a dominant force in the Australian belief that if you have got it, spend it...

Her £70,000 BMW 850 will have to go. 'I am at home only 12 weeks of the year, having a Ferrari is a waste of money, so having two great cars is sheer stupidity'...

would have got absolutely sod all apart from going to the next tee still level with the other three girls...



Davies... \$841,000 this year

what I did: I sank a putt under the fiercest pressure. She is disappointed she did not get the exposure she thinks she deserved after winning her third major at the LPGA Championship in Delaware...

That sums up Davies: she knows she is the world's No. 1 woman player but does not expect accolades. They will surely come, however, if she completes the 44th victory of her career this weekend.

Rugby Union

Callard wooed by Welsh

David Phelan

THE England and Bath full-back Jonathan Callard is being courted by Wales to play rugby league. Callard impressed the South Wales RLFC coach Clive Griffiths when Bath played Wigan at league at Malpas last month...

for us and it would give him the chance to make a few bob during the summer. Wales play England in the European Championship in Cardiff on June 26 and Nicholson said it was not beyond the realms of possibility that the 30-year-old Callard, brought up in Newport, could be in contention for Wales, having played rugby union for Welsh Schools...

Thomas proves his versatility as Wales get off to a flying start

WALE'S ran in 10 tries in yesterday's 62-30 win over Western Australia, Gareth Thomas accounting for five as the eight-match tour opened at the WACA in Perth.

game of the tour," said the Wales coach Kevin Bowring. The scrum-half Andy Moore went over in the fourth minute. Thomas then got his first and Hill twice scored in the corner. Dafydd James, an uncapped wing, scored just before the interval and Thomas got four tries in the second half. The flanker Kingsley Jones also scored a try, and Neil Jenkins weighed in with six conversions.

all to do with what's in your head. Anyone can be a good putter. "It is half the shots in golf, but in my case it is more than half the shots. I am in a bad phase, but I will get out of it." The defending champion Bernhard Langer, who last week came to the end of his run of 88 events without missing a cut, is also looking for a rapid recovery. The German is eyeing a 10th European victory on a home soil and his third at Gai Eader where he won the Honda title in 1992. The Volvo rankings leader Ian Woosnam, Rocca, and Seve Ballesteros are the other principal attractions in a field playing for a first prize of £20,830.

Emrys Lewis suffered a neck injury, however, and like Emrys is unlikely to face Australian Capital Territory on Sunday. Australia's centre Jason Little will miss both Tests against Wales in Brisbane on June 8 and Sydney on June 22, after breaking his collar-bone in a freak accident while putting on a shirt. He will be out for five months.

Cricket

News and Sport 0891 22 88+

Table with 2 columns: County, Runs. Derbyshire 31, Middlesex 40, Durham 32, Nottingham 41, Essex 34, Gloucestershire 42, Gloucestershire 34, Surrey 44, Hampshire 36, Sussex 46, Kent 37, Warwickshire 48, Lancashire 36, Westchester 47, Leicestershire 36, Yorkshire 48.

Complete county scores 0891 22 88 30

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Sport

Montgomerie inspired by new putting Pal

Michael Britton in Hamburg

COLDEN MONTGOMERIE has arrived here for the Deutsche Bank Open with the look of a man who has discovered the elixir of life. It comes in the form of a new Ping Putter which he believes will transform his fortunes on the greens in good time for his prime target of 1996, the US Open at Oakland Hills, Michigan in a fortnight. By his own admission Montgomerie, who finished ninth after leading at the 54-hole stage in the Benson and Hedges at The Oxfords, and seventh to Costantino Rocca in the Volvo PGA

Championship last week, is in a poor putting patch. He has also been a victim of his own indecision. The European No. 1 used a different putter each day at Westworth and at the Players Championship in Florida in March. "I have changed putters too often and I have more than 60 at home," he said. "I should stick to the same one, and now that I have found a more lofted putter that is ideal for any type of green, perhaps it will be the only one I will take to Detroit."

Certainly it made a promising debut yesterday when the Scot had a 68 in the pro-am. "Putting has not got much to do with golf," he said. "It's

Scoreboard

Scoreboard table with columns for various sports events and results. Includes Benson and Hedges Cup, Lancashire v Gloucestershire, and other matches.



Big-money bid for QPR and Wasps, page 14

Bannister resigns over book row, page 15

Germans set Belfast buzzing, page 14

Don Bradman breaks his silence, page 15

# SportsGuardian

THE FRENCH OPEN WARMS UP: A SHOCK FOR AGASSI, A SCARE FOR SAMPRAS



Working up a sweat ... Andre Agassi (above) against Chris Woodruff, and spectators seeking shade



Report by Stephen Bierley Photographs by Tom Jenkins

## Early exit for rusty Agassi

AMERICA'S best tested, America's best fell. Andre Agassi, as close to a genius as the current game has, fumbled his way to a banal defeat at Roland Garros yesterday, and Pete Sampras, the No. 1 seed, narrowly survived in the fifth set after a fluctuating performance against Spain's Sergi Bruguera, the champion in 1993 and 1994.

pull the fat out of the fire with an ungloried hand. He played poorly in the first round on Monday, and yesterday Chris Woodruff, a little-known 23-year-old from Knoxville, Tennessee, had the result of his life, winning 4-6, 6-4, 6-7, 6-3, 6-2. He was handed it on a cracked plate. Not only had Woodruff not played Agassi before, he had not met him. "He came up to me before the match and said, 'How do you do, my name's Andre.' Afterwards he said, 'Congratulations.' I thought that was pretty classy."

The same could not be said for the greater body of Agassi's performance, and Agassi's body, no matter the looseness of his clothing, is far greater than it was. Too much money, not enough tennis. His shots were frequently all over the place, notably the forehand. He served almost a dozen double-faults and his footwork was often non-existent. Yet as long as his timing remained he had a chance; once that deserted him defeat became inevitable. He never stopped going for winners; they rarely came.

Woodruff greeted victory with a look of total disbelief. He dropped his racket to the red clay and clutched his white cap. Then, after shaking hands with Agassi, he slumped down on his chair and the tears spilled. Woodruff is the antithesis of Agassi. "My values are small-town values. The way he lives is not my style. I like to play golf, go to the movies and hang about with my friends at the golf shop." Nine months ago, after a successful junior and college career, he almost turned his

back on tennis. "I had to pay a lot of money to get my head screwed on right." His previous Grand Slam experience was in the US Open, losing first-round matches in 1988, the year he turned professional, and 1995. Even now he has no great love for the pro circuit. "It was a real shock to get out on the tour. Everyone is so cut-throat. I was not brought up in such a selfish manner. I really don't like the tour but it's something I feel fortunate in being able to do."

The world of fast cars and multi-million-dollar Nike ads suddenly seemed a universe away. When the clean-shaven, upright Woodruff entered the post-match conference, a meeting Agassi ducked, he whispered wide-eyed to an official: "Lots of people." It was always likely that Sampras would have a tough fight for Bruguera had beaten him on the way to the title in 1993. Injury has seen the Spaniard slip back in the world rankings, and he arrived dangerously unseeded. Sampras's coach Tim Gullikson, who died recently, believed the US, Australian and three-times Wimbledon champion could win in Paris. So far he has not gone beyond the quarter-finals. Sampras

## High spirits that lead to high dudgeon



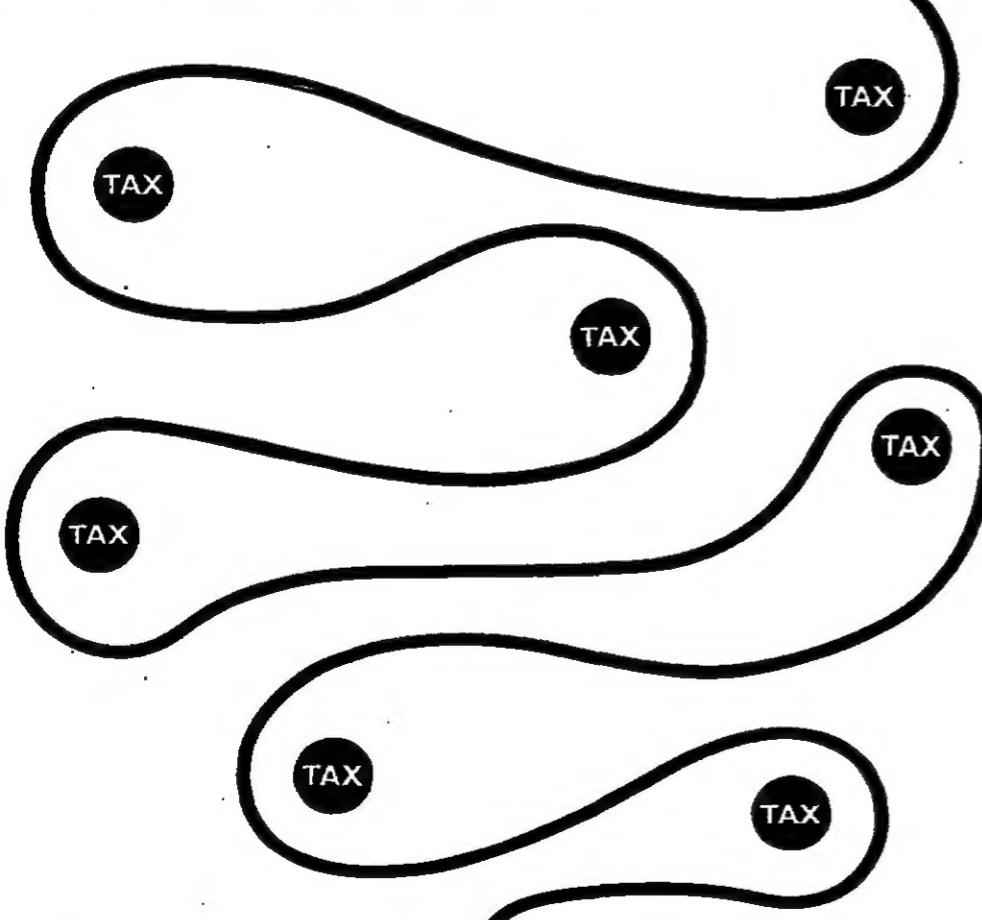
Frank Keating

IMPECCABLE timing is crucial in sport, so the moment you heard the first vague rumblings of the story there could be no doubt that the best player, you know who, had been in the thick of you know what about Cathy Heathrow, the England team's jumbo jet feathered down from the same direction and at once two vast armies formed to face each other in quarrelsome dispute. There were those of the "youthful exuberance" persuasion and those of the "robustly conservative" persuasion, the nation again split down the middle to contest the verbal brawl from sawdust taproom to candelabra-lit dinner party. When you heard, first up for the defence yesterday, the obnoxious and ubiquitous footballer's agent Eric Hill — "a scoundrel, monster over-reaction" — the immediate thought was that the Tower wasn't good enough for Paul Gascoigne. And that conviction was not in the least diluted when the FA's first tremulous reaction was to prod out over the top, to be shot down as cannon fodder on the steps of Lancaster Gate, a young jet-lagged squirt in a suit to say: "Nothing untoward happened, at the end of my 13-hour long-haul flight newspapers are scattered everywhere."

possibly in their own time? What other famous British flag-bearers — celebrated actors, film stars, musicians, singers — could be in danger of losing their jobs at a stroke because of mild off-stage misbehaviour? Take it from me that you could stagger from a rowdily roistering sports-talking flight with any three of Richard Burton, Trevor Howard and Ian Botham, and only the latter's performance would inspire obscure provincial policemen to sound off on national television. If it's a question of being a "responsible" example to children, well why does sport always exclusively carry that can and not actors or musicians? It is that old feudal, working-class thing again. Sport is still steeped in that Victorian boy-scoutish ethos which demands that "professionals" must keep their noses clean whereas anything goes for decent public-school amateur "japers". Witness what rugby union tourists have been allowed to get away with down the century. Players and camp-followers still grade Lions tours — whole corridors of hotel doors used or taken off hinges, unknown women guests heaved out of their beds, dozens of wardrobes or beds dangerously hurled down 10 floors into swimming-pools below — as "a brilliant wreckers' tour" (South Africa, 1988) or "so dull, even the wrecking was not up to much" (New Zealand, 1977).

HERE have been no end of stories, fact or hearsay, about British footballers "over-relaxing" on aircraft. But because the great Gascoigne is, alas, also Gazza, he may well have blown his last chance of displaying his breathtaking talents downstage to an audience of the world. Offhand, the previous England player to need to be helped off an aeroplane and into the tabloids' embrace on the eve of a major championship was Jeff Astle at Mexico City before the 1970 World Cup. Luckily they were only Mexican tabloids — and the truth was that Astle, a notoriously scared flier, had knocked back just two medicinal whiskeys to try to stifle both air-sickness and food poisoning. He was ill, not drunk, and he recovered — in time horrendously to miss a palpable rouser against Brazil. But the combination of such infamy made him the star butt of a late-night football programme a quarter of a century later. Which is probably where the once genius Gascoigne will be in 2021.

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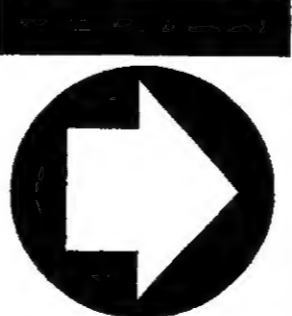
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still finds it difficult to talk about Gullikson but there is little doubt that trying to win here means more to him now than ever. He took the first two sets playing wonderful attacking tennis behind his blistering serves, but the self-belief suddenly drained away and Bruguera levelled. Sweat ran in rivers down Sampras's face but he dug deep and survived 6-3, 6-4, 6-7, 2-6, 6-3. "This was by far the best win I have had at Roland Garros. It was very emotional and I was very tired after the first two sets," said Sampras. "My back is fine, but the rest of my body will be sore." Thomas Muster, who continues the defence of his title today, will have been pleased to see the defeat by Francisco Clavet of Spain's Alberto Costa, who almost did for the Austrian in last year's quarter-finals; and those nervous of big serves will have been delighted with the departure of Australia's Mark Philippoussis. There were no problems for Uncle Sam's adopted daughter Monica Seles, although she had to work hard before besting Japan's Naoko Sawamatsu 7-6, 6-2. All is obviously still not quite right with her shoulder.



A lot of these cases from Gazza's antics to supporters' chants to Cabinet silliness are not much to do with men behaving badly but with keeping up appearances. Pop stars and footballers must always be rowdy. Politicians must never back down. Acting hard is the name of the game. Suzanne Moore

G2 page 7

### Guardian Crossword No 20,666

Set by Rufus

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

- Across**
- 9 Live out on new development (8)
  - 10 Give out centre part of text due for revision (6)
  - 11 Looking pale coming out of a cinema (7)
  - 12 Throw out a proposed scheme (7)
  - 13 Settled one in a small apartment (4)
  - 14 Just sufficient reason for a place of diversion (10)
  - 16 Choose one mother — the best? (7)
  - 17 No simple obsession (7)
  - 18 Simple, or merely neat perhaps (10)
  - 22 Some pictorial photographs of Xanadu's sacred river (4)
  - 24 Profligate poet? (7)
  - 28 Antoine may be from a public school (7)
- Down**
- 1 Lawyers go into this valid testimony (5,10)
  - 2 He wants to raise the standard of living (8)
  - 3 An odd card game (5)
  - 4 Deny a key's stupidly mislaid outside (8)
  - 5 He aims not to be seen by the enemy (8)
  - 6 Mother takes in older variety entertainment (9)
  - 7 Ladies' man holding ancient city office (6)
  - 8 Impassioned arguments about telephonists' winter accommodation? (6,8)
  - 15 Ash Wednesday is understandably the first of them (5,4)

1	A	R	O	O	A	A	O	A
2	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
3	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
4	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
5	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
6	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
7	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
8	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
9	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
10	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
11	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
12	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
13	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
14	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
15	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
16	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
17	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
18	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
19	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
20	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
21	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
22	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
23	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
24	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
25	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
26	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
27	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A
28	O	A	R	O	O	O	O	A

- CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,665**
- 17 Stays around (8)
  - 18 Sweet sort of lady giving children guidance (8)
  - 20 Makes correct for me to be in talks (8)
  - 21 Lay on a party (6)
  - 23 Portends the start of ballad poetry (5)
- Solution tomorrow**

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